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COVER

THE WONDER DRUG

For most of the 20th century, ASA has been a staple in household medicine cabinets. But the drug is capable of far more than reducing fevers and soothing headaches. As a growing body of research attests, the humble white tablet is increasingly rich in medical potential—from reducing the risk of heart attack and stroke in some people, to boosting the immune system. — 38



CANADA

QUEBEC'S AGENDA

Premier Robert Bourassa is pressing ahead with an ambitious agenda to redefine Quebec's role in Confederation. And some federalists, including Ontario Premier David Peterson, say that the McGuinty government is too weak to resist the national pressures building in Quebec. — 10



WORLD

NATO'S COURSE

Leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization met in London to define a new strategy for the post-Cold War era. And in an effort to convince Moscow that NATO no longer poses a military threat, they urged the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies to sign a joint peace declaration. — 18



LETTERS

'TRUE DISTINCT SOCIETY'

How fitting that the true natives in Canada, the only true distinct society, should, by their actions in Manitoba, attempt to save this country from further bitter divisions ("Unsettled business," *Cover*, July 3). They were working to save this country from a Prime Minister and seven premiers without the guts and insight to stand up for Canada as a single society composed of diverse groups. Ralph Harland is a brave and true Canadian.

Marcel MacLeod,
Sudbury, Ont.

A VETO FOR SENATE REFORM

Your editorial illustrated clearly the central Canadian view of the accord as a means to unify the status quo ("Beyond Maple Lake," July 8). Out here in the hinterlands, we view the "Canadian mission" referred to as our permanent subjugation, and Ontario Premier David Peterson's "distinction" as blatant political cynicism. Giving the veto to all provinces splits them on very meaningful Senate reform through denunciation of Ontario and Quebec's central through populism. They would use the veto during the coming years' discussions, and then, in 1995, our "friends" in Ontario would give the have-nots six of their senators—a useless commodity now and then. Thanks.

Anthony Mason,
Calgary

LIFE BEYOND POLLS

Apparently, Canada-U.S. relations must be irreconcilably irreconcilable. That is the only message I can find to support your derailing another annual issue entirely to relations between the two countries ("Portrait of two nations," *Special Report*, June 26). I say this is only "apparently" true because I barely made it past your index. Sorry, but I have always thought that there is life beyond opinion polls and the United States.

Richard Roth,
Windsor, Ont.

CALLING MULRONEY'S BLUFF

Ia Felt's column on leadership ("Someone has to take the lead," June 18), he ascribed to me on the side of big business, always with the ball in hand. "Settle or we close the plant" he said at Schofield's in Quebec. This time, he said I called someone else will have to keep the plant operating.

John Holmes,
St. John's, Nfld.



Harper: 'leave and true Canadian'

BEARING RESPONSIBILITY

Ia the event of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan ("A threat of nuclear war," *World*, June 11), Canadians will have to bear a

large measure of responsibility for the consequences. The only customers for the nuclear industry's product will continue to be regions and to make nuclear weapons. No one else wants their white elephants. The nuclear industry can try to convince Canadians about the joys of nuclear, but it's harder to explain to foreign customers about reactions operating at levels well below expectations.

Julius Zuckerman,
Toronto

WQ/ECK LIVES

I was surprised and somewhat disgusted to read the inaccurate news in your July 2 issue ("Now life for a concert?" *Opening Notes*), insisting that the WQ/ECK TV movie may be cancelled. Even as you item appears, the live producer is writing down with a new writer on reviewing the musical portion of the story and pre-production plans are getting under way.

Jim Bart,
Creative Head, Music and Multimedia,
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,
Toronto

Letters are edited and may be credited. Writers should supply names, addresses and telephone numbers. Mail correspondence should be sent to the Editor, Maclean's, 1100 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5G 1A5.

PASSAGES

ACQUITTED: Imelda Marcos, 61, the former first lady of the Philippines, of fraud and racketeering charges involving \$258 million, after a three-month trial in Manhattan Federal Court. The New York City jury also acquitted her co-defendant, arms dealer Adnan Khashoggi, 54, of related charges of fraud and obstruction of justice. U.S. authorities had accused Marcos and her late husband, former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos, of secretly being property in the United States with money embezzled from the Philippine government. Khashoggi was accused of selling the Marcoses in the country; jurors said that the prosecution's case was "grossly prepared."

SEPARATING: Andrew Lloyd Webber, 42, composer of blockbuster musicals including *Jesus Christ* and *The Phantom of the Opera*, and his wife of six years, Sarah Brightman, 38, star of *Phantom's* London and New York City productions. When announcing the separation, the twice-married composer confirmed his newest relationship with Madeleine Gardin, 37, a British businesswoman.

DIED: Former longtime Alberta cabinet minister Myrvin Letch, 44, of lung cancer, in Calgary. Letch served under Conservative premier Peter Lougheed, successively as attorney general, treasurer and energy minister, from 1971 to 1982.

VICTIMHOUS: For a second night now, Candelaria-born American woman witness-



in Martina Navratilova, 32, in the women's singles final at the Wimbledon championships. She beat Tonia Zina Garrison by 6-4, 6-1, to capture a title won the previous two years by West German's Steffi Graf.

DIED: Journalist Paul Wynne, 46, who reported on his impending death for a local TV news program, of AIDS, at a San Francisco hospital. Recently, Wynne's weekly diary recounting his struggles with the fatal disease was taped as his hospital room.

DIED: Soviet helicopter pilot Anatoly Grishchenko, 33, who suffered massive exposure to radiation when he voluntarily flew through the radioactive zone caused by the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster to drop two containers on the burning reactor, of leukemia, in hospital in Seattle.

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OPENING NOTES

k. d. lang dresses for success, Gov. Wilder flies for love, and Canada hosts a July 4 party in Washington

A STENCH THAT IS SKIN DEEP

Country singer k. d. lang may have blazed off more than she can chew. The Alberta cattle-country native has attacked beef ranchers and meat producers with remarks that she made for a tv campaign by the U.S.-based People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. Says lang in the ad, which has been released to the news read to but will be broadcast in August: "If you know how meat was made, you'd probably lose your lunch. I know, I've been cattle country—that's why I became a vegetarian. Meat stinks." Now, lang's credibility has been reinforced. Not, indeed, critics have noted that the singer has appeared in a cattle-



lang: definitely wearing suede

ing of wearing leather boots, and a recent record-promotion photograph shows her slouched out in a full-length suede coat. The fastest reaction has come from the cattle industry. Said Gordon Mitchell, a spokesman for the Alberta Cattle Commission: "k. d. should know that 99.9 per cent of all cattle producers are extremely concerned about the welfare of their animals. It hurts us to see our animals suffer." While some country-and-western radio stations have offered listeners flat ratings when they phone in during her songs, others have stepped a bit on her music. lang herself was not available for comment on her careerist habits, but her manager, Larry Wagoner, said, "I can't deny that she wears suede and leather." But, he added, "I do know that she bought them [the coat and boots] secondhand." Oh, well then.

Birthday red, white and blues

Canada's dramatic new ambulatory overlooking Capitol Hill in Washington was the site of two birthday parties in early July. But the Canadian government paid for only one of them. On July 4, Independence Day, the embassy used public money to wine and dine about 150 guests, most of them American, including Cabinet Secretary Clayton Tootler and PEO director William Scowen. Staff have been chosen, handbooks and songbooks on the speaker's terrace; white guests had one of the best views in town for the spectacular fireworks display. By contrast, three days earlier on Canada Day, the food and drinks served by the embassy were donated by Canadian meat packers and butchers to a gathering of 1,200 Canadians. Although most foreign embassies observe that national holidays with government-subsidized banquets, Ottawa does not provide funds



Canadian Embassy: 'one of the best locations'

for Canada Day celebrations in Washington. Said embassy spokeswoman Terry Goh: "We try to minimize the use of public funds for Canada Day celebrations. Our primary purpose is to influence Americans." We stand on guard for aliens.

A ROOM WITH A VIEWPOINT

For seven decades, Ottawa MPs, senators and members of the National Press Gallery have enjoyed access to one of 100 daily newspapers and 550 weeklies in one of the most beautiful rooms on Parliament Hill. Now, to the dismay of users and staff alike, the reading material has been removed and the Parliament Reading Room has become another Commons committee room—with no new location named for the move. Said parliamentary librarian Erik Spitzer: "When your landlord tells you to get out, you get out." So ends another chapter on library.



Khage (left): Wilder: making liberal use of state-owned assets

A LITTLE HIGH-FLYING ROMANCE

Virginia's Democratic governor, L. Douglas Wilder, 50, holds the highest elected office of any black in the United States. Indeed, many Americans see him as a potential rival to George Bush in 1992. But controversy is brewing about the politician's romance with Patricia Khage, 41, a working journalist who recently divorced consummate magazine John Khage, 42, the richest man in the United States last year by *Forbes* magazine. Wilder is reported to have

made "liberal use" of state-owned assets to rendezvous with Khage, the beneficiary of a \$1 billion divorce settlement, at resorts in Newbet, Mass., and Virginia Beach, Va. Indeed, the liaison has attracted so much attention that a radio station in Richmond, Va., asked listeners to choose a song for the lovers. Among the winners: Gayle Day Me Love by the Beatles, and Paul McCartney and Steve Wonder's *Ebony and Ivory*.



Meloney: clearing up a 'misinterpretation'

The dice continue to roll

The Toronto Globe and Mail came perilously close to losing two Ottawa bureau reporters in a dispute about Press Minister Brian Mulroney's notorious "roll of the dice" quotation that appeared in a June 12 article. According to Globe article, Mulroney said after the article was published. The remark also said that Mulroney complained that his remark was "misinterpreted." The Press Minister's Office said that no such conversation took place and there had been no request to run the transcript of the interview. The Globe did publish the transcript on June 20. Although Susan Delacourt and bureau chief Graham Fraser, who wrote the original story, were not consulted beforehand, they learned that a planned introduction for the interview transcript said that the "roll of the dice" remark was "open to interpretation." Delacourt and Fraser then threatened to resign unless the offending word was removed. It was. And they stayed. National editor Christopher Waddell declined to comment, but other sources inside the Globe say that Thorpe's decision is the talk of the newsroom.

A vain attempt to keep a name

New Brunswick Liberal mp Douglas Young has learned that a riding by any other name can spell voters. The representative of the century-old Gloucester constituency persuaded the House of Commons last month to approve a bill changing his riding's name to Acadie-Bathurst. It seems that Young was afraid of being mistaken for the MP from the Ottawa-area seat of Carlton-Place. But 1,300 of his constituents have signed a petition saying in vain that Gloucester remains Gloucester. Lamented *Bathurst Mayor John Duffy*: "You never know with these fellows you send to Ottawa."

POOR SPORTS, POORER HOSTS

Two years after winning a bitter battle with Halifax to host the 1994 Commonwealth Games, Victoria appears to be getting cold feet. Public support for the projected event waned when the city began asking tax bills to cover the \$110-million cost of hosting the Games. Indeed, some taxpayers are withholding their taxes, and former mayor Peter Pollen says that the city should back out altogether. Said Pollen: "I think we should seriously consider selling the Games to Calgary." Pollen's position has angered members of Halifax's now-defunct Commonwealth Games committee. Said spokesman Philip Arnold: "Maybe Victoria should pay us to take a look at leaving the Games." A case of the winners refusing to take off.

A FULL, BUT COSTLY HOUSE

France's former foreign minister Jean-Claude Gauthier is out of a job—and out of pocket, too. Only 30 people turned up in Paris for the July 2 opening session of a series of political lectures from him organized by the *Le Monde* newspaper. To salvage the event, the newspaper asked an employment agency to hire extras to pack the hall for the afternoon session. More than 100 students

and 100 or more actors came up to fill three hours. Listening and applauding before gradually collecting their \$65 ticket, which Starn had bought. However, the speaker, among them National Assembly President Laurent Fabius and former premier Pierre Mauroy, were almost as silent when they discussed the scheme and raised an uproar that forced Starn to resign. Said Starn: "I was not listening, and I was not what they say, not the audience." The little, too late.



Fabius: audience said he arrived



Starn: audience said he arrived



Ottawa only has itself to blame

BY BARBARA AMIEL

In spite of the fears of some, I don't worry about the safety of the Quebecers on Canada Day, when, to quote *The Globe and Mail*, the "back-a-rump step into Canada's great group divide, leaving a bitter political mess." The Quebecers in a worst-case scenario have conditioned a lot worse stuff than this (tense) argument between Canadian and Quebec nationalists in search of job security. All the same, the typed-up press reports were amusing reading. "It was not the tense, dangerous scenes that many have feared just one week after the death of the March 14th constitutional accord," ranted *The Globe and Mail's* front page. Honestly, did the reporter sitting at her terminal typing out that story really credit such fear?

In fact, the reason why Quebecers may now leave Canada is the very fact that disunion has become such a safe middle-class affair. It begins as the casual cause of radical statements. The early days were all anti-segregation, pro-Montreal, death-to-Quebec, and health in letter boxes. It was the closest Canada got to having a disaffected young intelligentsia put in a Jean-Luc Godard movie.

The first referendum on sovereignty-association rejected the concept handily. The Quebec middle class rejected nationalism, rights, or a movement that was in the hands of hard-headed quasi-socialists who were both violent and unscrupulous in their attitudes to making money and getting on in life. It's not business-as-usual that we want, and those early separatists had a job-won socialist state. That was a threat to a stable Quebec economy, and ordinary French-Canadians carried their beliefs accordingly.

Fortunately for the separatists, the English and French separatists came to their rescue. The way to solve the existence of Quebec separatism, and our federal politicians, on Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's way to make all of Canada accept that Quebec should have special privileges. While many of us were rendered speechless by the face of such move-

If Canada had wanted to remain one nation, the use of French would have been a private matter, not an item of national policy

ment stupidity, Quebecers got the point very fast. By forcing the rest of the country to become officially bilingual and by permitting Quebec to remain officially opposed to the use of the English language, Canada created a de facto sovereignty-association status for Quebecers only. French separatists died of fringe identity and became a northeastern nationalist movement. You can have all the advantages of being separatist, but, for separatists in Quebec, without any of the disadvantages. English Canada stepped in, but those scoundrels as they called the millions that can.

If Canada had wanted to remain one nation, the use of French would have been a private matter and never an item of national policy. The only way for authoritarianism to emerge is to force change to a stable Quebec society. The Normans conquered the Saxons and, for three centuries after 1066, English was reduced to being the language of peasants. But the making of the English nation began when English re-emerged as the national language, and our federal politicians, on Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's way to make all of Canada accept that Quebec should have special privileges. While many of us were rendered speechless by the face of such move-

ment to "burst forth into sudden flame" to be spoken in every quarter of the globe and to produce a literature with which only that of ancient times is comparable.

In the mid-1970s, when I was arguing against Canada's language policies, one of Trudeau's cabinet members sent me a report on the Swiss cordon system. In an accompanying note, the cabinet member (I simply can't remember which one) reported me for my insistence that our bilingual policies and a united Canada were mutually exclusive. I was unimpressed. Switzerland is a sovereignty-association and a very successful one where, as far as I can tell, no one worries much about enforcing the official language. I was in Geneva a couple of weeks ago and there was not much going on trying to speak German in that country any more than there would be much point in trying to speak French around Zurich.

I can't blame Quebec separatists for the waste of money on our language policy. They have always said that bilingualism was not their policy. It was the idea of the Trudeau and Chretien crowd and the whole symposium following an English liberal who tagged along preaching the joys of anarcho-capitalism. Stick with us, said our capricious federalists to the French, and we will ensure that it is in your best interests to have a bilingual Canada. The French separatists were unimpressed. They had their eye on a distinct nation and, as the years went by, the rest of Canada got more and more tired of what they regarded as having to accommodate themselves for the French-only to be denounced and derided by them.

Humans begin to lose their distinctiveness in order times, our societies were divided by religion and class divisions. Just as they were dissolving, we discovered nationalism and then, later on, along came ideologies. The only chance a relatively new nation like Canada had to root itself was to adopt the nationalism approach. But our politicians were entranced by the idea of the cultural mosaic and then multiculturalism. Soon, we had a new special interest group: all those politicians and civil servants and "business executives" whose careers depended on the maintenance of bilingualism and multiculturalism.

In my view, the politicians' initial support for biculturalism and multiculturalism was as much for bad reasons as good ones. Many of our political leaders, without any of the disadvantages of being separatist, were not offending any one group. By now, raising Canada's status to match bilingualism, the promised special interests of groups, not according to any distinct notion of fairness or equity (which would be a good thing), but rather according to a calculation about which group may be exposed in order to be an opponent of the plan.

So Canada may have a divorce in its hands. That is inevitable but not fatal. It would only be dangerous if the French and English became enemies, two nations hostile to one another. As far as we may simply have our version of the European Economic Community, with Canada, Quebec and the United States living side by side as good neighbors. It's better than being unhappy neighbors, isn't it?



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QUEBEC'S AGENDA

ROBERT BOURASSA PRESSES HIS CASE FOR MORE POWERS FOR QUEBEC IN THE WAKE OF MEECH LAKE'S COLLAPSE

The two powers normally ascribed to be among the most congenial of Canadian political leaders. Indeed, Robert Bourassa of Quebec and Ontario Premier Peter Ramo met in Montreal on June 28 to reaffirm publicly their image of solidarity after the failure of the Meech Lake constitutional accord on June 23. But after another meeting last week in Toronto, their relationship appeared strained—largely because of Bourassa's stated aim of revitalizing Quebec's position in Confederation. Apart from negotiating last week with a new deal with the federal government that would give Quebec greater power over immigration, Bourassa made it clear that he plans to wear a transfer from Ottawa of regulatory authority over radio and telecommunications. Such initiatives clearly left Peter Ramo—and many other federalists—unsettled. Declared the Ontario premier: "I do not want to see a systematic, uncalculated dismantling of this country."

But, in spite of Bourassa's concerns, Bourassa's new push for greater administrative and legislative powers has gratified a movement that may be difficult to contain. Stung by the death of the Meech Lake accord, the Quebec premier has moved swiftly to set his own agenda for the reform of Canada's federal system—and greater independence for Quebec is doing so, he is backed by a growing sound of confident nationalism among Quebecers—as an atmosphere that could make it as inconceivable for federalists, such as new Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, to find a sympathetic ear. At the same time, the federal Conservative government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, apparently stunned by the failure of Meech, has made no effort to proclaim the merits of federalism. In fact, at least one senior Tory said that no such defence is conceivable.



Bourassa, Lucien Bouchard (right) as defence

ed. Industry Minister Basil Boudreau, Mulroney's Quebec lieutenant, told Mulroney: "Something began in Quebec June 23, and we have closed but let it go. If we intervened, the consequences would be unpredictable." Added Bouchard: "We are headed towards a redefinition of the federal system."

Indeed, Bourassa's flurry of manoeuvres quickly sharpened the expectations of many Quebec politicians that they would have a quiet summer devoted to recovery from the fractious constitutional debates. And his actions left little doubt that, for the premier of Quebec at least, the old style of Canadian federalism is dead. Before visiting Toronto, Bourassa made a cordial visit to Ottawa with former federal environment minister Lucien Bouchard, a longtime Parti Québécois supporter who quit the Conservative cabinet and caucus in May in protest against possible amendments to the Meech Lake ac-

cord, is the most prominent MP among the Tories and two Liberals from Quebec who have left their parties to sit as pro-sovereignty independents in the House of Commons. On July 3, Bourassa visited Bouchard to be the first person to sit on a negotiation provincial commission that will attempt to define Quebec's future relationship with the rest of Canada.

The establishment of the commission on June 28, and the commitment that it would also include Liberal and PQ members as well as business people, academics and union leaders, was Bourassa's immediate support of PQ leader Jacques Parizeau. He had called on the premier immediately following the death of the Meech Lake accord to work with the PQ to establish a new direction for Quebec. But new federalists just as quickly expressed their concerns about what direction the province may take after the commission, which began public hearings at September, tables are recommended next spring. Said anglophone Quebec MP

Robert Edouard, leader of the small minority-rights Equality party, for one: "It would be a grave error to look at the majority opinion and give up other options."

And Bourassa's optimism prompted at least one other premier to warn that Quebec should not expect to overshadow the concerns of other regions. "The media attention, the enormous attention, the former federal politicians is on Quebec," observed Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine. Added Devine: "We need to speak with regional strength to make very sure that our concerns are not overlooked." To that end, Devine invited his fellow western premiers to meet in Edmonton, on the Alberta-Saskatchewan border, on July 26 to draw up their own agenda for the next round of constitutional negotiations.

At the same time, though, many political observers expressed skepticism for Bourassa's management of the constitutional crisis against



Quebec minority families seeking new immigration powers from Ottawa

the backdrop of Quebec's inflamed nationalist passions. Said George Perle, a political historian at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: "Bourassa is dealing with forces that are uncontrollable. And he is doing it very skillfully so far." Added Montreal lawyer Peter Blais, a former president of the federal Conservative party: "Bourassa is one of the very few people who emerged from the Meech debacle with his reputation enhanced."

But while Bourassa may have emerged unscathed, questions remained about Chrétien's ability to function in Quebec's volatile political mood. His critics, in fact, predicted that the newly elected Liberal leader will be treated with hostility in his home province over his

Sud Seniors Pierre Kestel, Chrétien's chief opponent in Quebec. "He is seen as the guy who blocked Meech Lake. We are going through a rough period."

One early sign of that potential hostility became evident last week. Quebec MP Gilles Rochefort became the second Liberal to quit the party's federal caucus as a result of Chrétien's new leadership victory. In a bitterly worded parting shot, Rochefort, who expected to align himself with Bourassa's pro-sovereignty group, called Chrétien a "Judas" and "traitor" in Quebec.

Chrétien faces another test in Quebec next month with a federal leadership scheduled for Aug. 13 in Lacrosse-St. Marie, in Montreal's working-class East End.



Rochefort's parting shot

that constituency is made up almost entirely of the provincial ruling of St. Marie-Jacques—a nationalist stronghold now held by the PQ. Pierre Mulgrew, the widow of Lucien-St. Marie's respected former MP, Lucien Jean-Guy Melançon, who died of cancer last November, already agreed to vote for the Liberals but later withdrew "Liberals in the midst have been torn by Chrétien's victory," she explained. "I have too many friends on both sides and I did not want to betray any of them."

Despite the rising anger over sovereignty issues privately, the Liberals' replacement candidate, Denis Coderre, announced last

National Notes

PAYING FOR A MISTAKE

After a three-month investigation, a seven-member commission of inquiry recommended that the Nova Scotia government pay Donald Marshall, 34, and his parents more than \$1 million over the next 30 years in compensation for the 31 years that Marshall spent in prison for a murder he did not commit. Nova Scotia Attorney General Thomas McEwen said that the provincial government accepted the commission's recommendations but added that it will sit in Ottawa to hear half of the costs.

NEW RULES FOR PAROLE

The federal government proposed new parole guidelines that could lead violent offenders and major drug dealers behind bars for more of their sentences. However, first-time offenders, on the other hand, would be eligible for earlier release than under the existing rules.

VIA CUTS UPHELD

The Federal Court of Appeal rejected a challenge to this year's cuts in Via Rail's passenger train service, ruling that cabinet decisions are not subject to the federal government's environmental assessment process.

GAF FAMILY RIGHTS DENIED

The Federal Court of Appeal ruled that businesses employed in federally regulated industries—and those employed by the federal government—cannot claim employment benefits derived at federal. The court ruled that, under the provisions of the federal Human Rights Act, the federal government did not discriminate against a homosexual employee when it refused to grant him compassionate leave to attend the funeral of his live-in lover's father.

BANKROLLING CULTURE

Communications Minister Marcel Masse announced that Ottawa will spend \$24 million over the next five years in loans to publishing, film and recording companies. Masse said that the money will help industries that otherwise have trouble securing financing because of their "risky image."

A BARE PRISON

In a humanist gesture, federal Solicitor General Pierre Cadieux granted a pardon to convicted murderer Assante Proulx, after he served 11 years of his 1979 life sentence for the murder of his lover, Patricia, 25, was Canada's oldest female prisoner. She is the first Canadian to be pardoned on a first-degree murder conviction.

week that he will campaign on Christie's federalist platform. But Colwell already faces competition from Terry and other candidates—he and others are openly critical of the Quebec sovereignty. As well, a pro-independence candidate associated with Bloc Québécois's separatist group may also enter the race.

But the apparently deep-seated mistrust against federalism in Quebec has also damaged Mulroney's stature in the province—and his ability to campaign there on behalf of a united Canada. Some observers said that Mulroney is left with no choice but to allow Quebec to set the agenda. Blake, for one, said that the problem results from the making of the political coalition that Mulroney forged in the early 1980s, which excluded large numbers of people who supported sovereignty. That alliance enabled Mulroney's Tories to sweep 58 of Quebec's 75 seats in the 1984 federal general election, and to increase that margin to 63 in 1988. Mulroney, said Blake, "used a lot of ultranationalists to get elected Prime Minister. Now, he is their bogey." For his part, McGill University law professor Stephen Scott said that Ottawa is incapable of interesting Quebec in the province, in large part because Mulroney played a key role in creating them by dramatizing Quebec's exclusion from the pantheon of the Constitution in 1982. Said Scott, "Myths have been created about how Quebec was raped and how a rejection of Meech would be a rejection of Quebec by English Canada. These myths have to be undone."

Some federalists begin that task last week. Latham, for one, announced that he, Scott and another McGill University law professor, Julius Grey, will form the nucleus of a new Task

Force on Canadian Federalism, aimed at promoting the federalist option. But Scott acknowledged that the task forces face an extremely difficult job. "Positives are extended, passions are inflamed, and expectations are rising," he observed. "We are in an infinitely worse situation than we were five years ago."

For his part, Ontario's Peterson expressed concern that Quebec would take advantage of what he called the weak position of the federal government and increase its demands for more powers. In the field of immigration, for example, Quebec already controls selection of a large portion of

potential immigrants to the province under the terms of a 1978 agreement with Ottawa. But Bourassa's government is currently negotiating with Ottawa to take over the immigrant resettlement program that the federal government still operates in Quebec. Quebec also wants to raise its share of overall immigration to Canada from 25 per cent—equivalent to its share of Canada's current population—to as much as 30 per cent.

At the same time, Bourassa said that he wants Quebec to take over some powers held by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which regulates broadcasting and telephone service in Canada. His argument: Quebec will be better able to protect its cultural sovereignty by exercising more control over communications. But last week, Peterson said that he will oppose any hasty handover of federal power in the field to Quebec. Said the Ontario premier: "I think it is clear that I have a different view on the distribution of powers than Quebec." But while he and other federalists struggle to shape their convictions in ways that could be acceptable in Quebec, Bourassa has already moved ahead—ending a nationalist wave that threatens to leave other political options in its wake.

DAVID BURKE in Ottawa with
PHIL KAMBA in Toronto



Wells calling the Prime Minister's version 'false'

even though Wells had informed Murray of his belief that it could not pass in the legislature. Said Wells: "Senator Murray insisted on a vote knowing what the outcome would be—so that he could point the finger at Newfoundland."

Wells said that there was no point in putting the Newfoundlanders through the wracking experience of a vote on Meech Lake once it became clear on June 22 that the accord could not be ratified in Manitoba by the June 23 deadline. "Nothing further could be achieved by Newfoundland's signing on," he said. And Wells disputed Murray's contention that a last-minute federal government strategy to save Meech Lake, by asking the Supreme Court of Canada to extend the accord's deadline, depended on Newfoundland voting on Meech Lake—and passing it—first. Murray abandoned that strategy, blaming Wells, when the premier postponed Newfoundland's vote indefinitely. But Wells

said that the decision, in fact, gave Murray a chance to pursue his strategy. "They can still take the initiative to the Supreme Court today if they want to," he said. "If Newfoundland had lived up to the accord, it would have put an effective end to it."

Murray, 49, April 8, left speechless at the province's approval of the accord and stands.

As the broadcasters continued last week, some Newfoundlanders expressed fears that Ottawa will have its revenge on Newfoundland by stifling the long-awaited, \$1.2-billion, \$100-million offshore oil project. But public support for Wells did not appear to have crumbled. Said Memorial University political scientist Steven McCorquodale, a Meech supporter: "The delay in Hobbes frightens the wide mix of the business community, but I think the general political consensus to support Wells." For now, the question "Who really killed Meech Lake?" may be left to future historians to answer.

GLEN ALLEN in Halifax

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Native drummers, chiefs in Edmonton: Ottawa says this is no time to negotiate

A new native hero

Elijah Harper dominates a post-Meech summit

It was an unbroken focus for a new political star. For four days last week, 260 Indian chiefs from across Canada gathered in Edmonton to map out a strategy to pressure aboriginal concerns following the failure of the Meech Lake accord. But the chiefs also clearly were eager to celebrate the exploits of Elijah Harper, the 41-year-old Ojibwa-Cree and MP from northern Manitoba. Closing a traditional eagle feather in his hand, Harper had gained national attention as he used procedural tactics last month to block passage of the constitutional accord as his province's legislator. As Harper spoke to the assembled chiefs last week, he was interrupted repeatedly with applause and was given three standing ovations. Outside the conference hall, windows added brightly colored T-shirts, posters and buttons bearing the likeness of the outspoken former trapper. "We now have Elijah out there carrying the banner, and the responsibility," Jerome Morin, chief of the 1,200-member Enoch Cree Nation, which has a 32,000-acre reserve just west of Edmonton. "Some of us see him as our Wayne Gretzky."

Harper responded modestly to the adulation. Of his pivotal role in deflating the Meech Lake accord, the former Cree chief said simply, "Anybody would have done the same thing." Still, other native leaders clearly hope to make him the focus of a post-Meech campaign to put native issues at the top of the national political agenda. But apart from calling on the federal government to establish a royal commission on aboriginal affairs, the Edmonton summit produced little in the way of concrete strategy. At the same time, Ottawa sent strong signals that it was not at the moment for dealing. Both Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Indian Affairs Minister Thomas Siddons declined invitations to speak to the chiefs. Shirley Martin, the past minister of state for Indian Affairs, told an audience of place-based native leaders that the death of the Meech Lake accord had backfired: "Some of the things that we were trying to do, such as the progress on all constitutional issues, including aboriginal issues, is blocked for the foreseeable future."

The chiefs appeared undaunted. They said that Harper was right to help kill an accord that recognized Quebec as a distinct society but ignored the aspirations of Canada's first peoples. They also warned that, whatever happens next, aboriginal concerns cannot be ignored. Declared Philip Fontaine, leader of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs. "While the constitutional process is not on the table today, we know that never again will we be subjected to such a vulgar process as Meech Lake."

The native leaders used the summit to remind federal and provincial politicians that they still have a long list of grievances. The chiefs said that they will continue to press for stronger recognition of treaty rights, especially in light of several recent court decisions in their favor. In one such case, the Supreme Court of

Canada ruled on May 31 that a 230-year-old treaty recognizing the right of Quebec's French to practice their customs—including cutting wood on public land for use as religious ceremonies—was still valid. Said Fontaine: "Court cases are still costly and time-consuming, but we now see in a better position to take advantage of them." As well, Fontaine and other native leaders vowed to seek greater native control over the justice system, schools and medical services.

Many chiefs also said that Harper's stand in Manitoba had demonstrated the importance of electing native people to the country's legislature. "For too long we sit outside the political process, letting non-Indians define our relationship with the Crown," said Chief Rowland Morin, of the Akwesasne Band, 100 km west of Edmonton. "We should now select the party that is best for native interests." In Manitoba alone, there are sizable native populations in at least five provincial elections. "That could be a significant block in a minority government," observed Fontaine. "Our people are now recognizing the electoral process."

Despite federal warnings that the death of Meech Lake had hurt their case, native leaders backed Harper throughout the four-day meeting. "Elijah Harper comes across to be the aboriginal hero," said Bernard Omenyapik, chief of northern Alberta's Lubicon Band, which has waged an unsuccessful land claims battle with both the federal and provincial governments for more than 40 years. Added Omenyapik: "There is greater unity among us since Meech Lake." And Pauline Big George, chief of the 110-member Ojibwa Big Island band on northwestern Ontario's Lake of the Woods, said that Harper's actions "opened everyone's eyes, not just native." He really inspired us to fight for our rights, the aboriginals.

For his part, Harper clearly intends to remain at the forefront of the fight. This week he was to be the guest of honor at a special assembly of native leaders in British Columbia. And in August, he will again join the national chiefs as they resume their strategy sessions in Winnipeg at a meeting slated to coincide with the annual conference of the provincial premiers, scheduled for the same city. Said Harper: "I have some responsibilities that I need to carry out."

Their role is clearly a new one for Harper. Born as a trapper's teen in the bush country near the community of Red Sucker Lake, 350 km north of Winnipeg, Harper has represented the sprawling northern riding of Rupertsland as the Manitoba legislator since 1983. But his newfound celebrity status has already paid a political dividend. Last week, George Huk, an Inuit from the Hudson Bay port of Churchill, Man., abandoned plans to run against Harper for the 2011 nomination in Rupertsland as the next election. According to Huk, Harper's role in the Meech Lake debate made him "undeniable at the polls. Canada's citizens paid a price that he will be as effective in ending their battle for public support."

JOBEN BOWSE in Edmonton

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AIDS 'mercy killings'

An activist says he helped eight men die

For Vancouver-based AIDS-activist David Lewis, the pattern became routine, but never easy. On eight different occasions, Lewis recounted last week, he helped AIDS-affected male friends take lethal doses of prescription drugs. Lewis, 38, who has AIDS himself, told Maclean's that he brought the drugs after they had been prescribed by the victims' physicians. One man died in a hospital. The rest chose to die at home. But Lewis

described all eight of the victims as brave and encouraged by the results of their disease. With no hope of recovery, he added, "they were begging to die." And despite the fact that assisting a person to die is illegal, Lewis defiantly declined "to put it in that legalistic plane as they should be able to say, 'It is enough I don't want to suffer anymore. I want to die.' To refuse to help them would be criminal."

Lewis's conduct set off an immediate debate over the legal and moral implications of his actions. While advocates and critics of the practice of euthanasia—so-called mercy killing—have probably opposing stances, Lewis's decision to help the eight men commit suicide also divided those involved in helping victims of the fatal AIDS virus. Although some AIDS workers approved wholeheartedly of Lewis's actions, others said that the victims may have been deprived of their lives during intense—but transient—booms of suicidal depression.

However, defensible Lewis's actions may have been. Though there was evidence that they were far from unique. One survey, conducted by Cornell University Medical School at Ithaca, N.Y., in February, 1988, revealed that men infected with AIDS were 36 times more likely than average males to commit suicide. More significantly, the same study found that AIDS patients were far more likely to choose to end their lives than were men with other fatal diseases. And in Vancouver, where has the country's highest concentration of AIDS victims, Lewis declared that he knew of other situations in which suicides took place with the assistance of other people. Said Lewis: "I am hardly alone. I know dozens of people here who responded to similar wishes. The only difference I'm talking about is."

Some AIDS activists plainly shared Lewis's view that the intensity of having the moral right to decide when to die—and that others have the moral right to help them. Brian Peel, executive director of the community support group AIDS Vancouver, for one, said that Peel added he is in agreement with Lewis's view that patients often feel better if they believe that they are "unobtrusive to a lingering and difficult death." Said Larry



Lewis: arguments that patients without hope of recovery should be able to choose suicide

Schelle, a Vancouver telephone help-line counselor for homosexuals who recently saw a close friend dying of AIDS: "Before you say 'Yes' or 'No,' you have to have stood at the foot of the bed."

Still, despite the evident pain and understandable depression faced by AIDS victims, other specialists in the treatment of the disease argued against offering anyone assistance to die. Some noted that, in most cases, drugs can help alleviate both depression and pain. But others drew a moral line against the widespread of a life. Douglas Graydon, an Anglican priest who counsels AIDS victims in Toronto, suggested that any who contemplated suicide—whether without another person's help—should ask themselves, "Is this what you want to leave the people you love, do you want to put them in legal jeopardy with be-lieve of guilt?" Meanwhile, Hamilton's Dr. Carmelo Sciacca, a former president of Physicians for Life, a group

of doctors that also opposes abortion, said that he was "shocked and dismayed" when he heard about Lewis's admissions.

But other doctors based their criticism of Lewis on other than moral grounds. Dr. Sheryl Kinnert, a Toronto clinical psychologist who works with people infected with AIDS, said that as many as four patients a day discuss with her their desire to commit suicide. In most cases, she said, she has been able to persuade them to postpone acting on their suicidal impulses, usually for periods of up to six months. Later, after the patients received emotional counselling or medical assistance, Kinnert told Maclean's all of those who decided not to commit suicide told her that they were glad that they had not ended their lives earlier. "People find that they can manage," said Kinnert. And for Lewis,

he declared, "I think he is playing God."

In Vancouver, authorities decided not to take legal action against Lewis. Although the Criminal Code of Canada forbids anyone to counsel or assist a person to commit suicide, both police and officials of the provincial coroner's office said that they lacked sufficient evidence to open investigations into the eight deaths. For one thing, Lewis did not identify the eight men, and he said that all of his victims have been cremated. Said Vancouver regional coroner Larry Campbell: "I have no means. I have no deaths to investigate." While that situation may have ended the debate over Lewis's legal accountability, the moral and ethical arguments surrounding his actions continued to rage.

GREG W. ENGLER and JEROME KELLY
in Vancouver, NANCY WOOD in Toronto
and GLEN ALLISON in Halifax

THE URBAN FOREST

Recycling:
an environmental
idea that makes
good business
sense

It is not only why virgin fiber from Canada's premarketed do their work. More than 40 of Canada's 145 pulp, paper, and paper board mills recycle waste paper for all or part of their raw material needs. Some have been doing so for more than 50 years.

The pulp and paper industry welcomes additional supplies of high-quality waste papers to meet its fibre needs. In fact, the quantity of recyclable papers has been increasing steadily. In 1980, 1,200,000 tonnes of waste paper were used, in 1990, that figure will exceed 1.9 million tonnes.

Growth of waste
recycling

Nearly 25 percent of the paper and paperboard used in Canada is collected for recycling. Recovering papers from a variety of sources, once the province of small entrepreneurs, community groups, and service clubs, has also become the domain of businesses of significant size.

Market forces and
environmental



considerations will continue to shape the recycling business. For one thing, people are asking for recycled content in the products they buy. For another, landfill sites are becoming more difficult to find. Recycling enables the industry to respond to the recycling ethic and to ease the environmental burden created by increasing municipal solid waste.

Industry research

As research solves the technological problems that today constrain buyers, so supplies of recyclable papers become reliable, and as more

markets open for recycled papers, Canadian mills will use greater quantities of waste paper.

In keeping with the spirit of the Environmental Stewardship, the pulp and paper industry is resolved to strike a balance between its business opportunities and its responsibilities to the environment.

Recycling is an expression of that resolve.

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Malinowski with Kohl, Thatcher and Bush with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker pose overtures from a London summit

WORLD

NATO'S COURSE

Trained nuclearists peeled down from the rooftop and armed policemen patrolled the bustling London streets in droves. On one morning last week, a symposium both exploded in a downtown crash, its splintering as it built along the reason behind the cruise Long Gallery in Lancaster House, however, leaders of the 16-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization were taking of pace. With communism collapsing in Eastern Europe and the Warsaw Pact all but defunct, the NATO allies met to try to redefine their essentially military alliance for the post-Cold War era. After two days of talks, they released a six-page communiqué that was clearly intended to ease Soviet worries about both a united Germany and NATO's own armed advances. And as a symbolic gesture, they invited Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to address the next NATO summit in Brussels. The changes in NATO, said Prime Minister Denis Malinowski, "have essentially realigned the alliance with a new international vacuum."

In what NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner called "probably the most important moment in the history of our lives," the allied leaders pledged to reward their strategy to introduce a new, less threatening description

THE WESTERN ALLIES TRY TO COMFORT MOSCOW BUT AVOID ANY MAJOR RETREAT IN EUROPE

of nuclear forces as "truly weapons of last resort." And they vowed to eliminate the 1,600 U.S. nuclear warheads from Europe if the Soviets removed their counterparty arsenal. In Moscow, Soviet President Gorbachev, who was facing a stiff challenge from military hard-liners at the Communist party congress, warmly welcomed NATO's moves (page 20). But, in some Western observers, the latest NATO moves were merely a transparent attempt to preserve the 41-year-old arrangement and Washington's formal foothold in Europe. "Beyond a certain point," said an

editorial in *The Times* of London, "redesigning its role must stop and the admission be made that the relevant warfare may one-day be ready to go out to grass."

Still, in both tone and substance, the meeting was significant. As the German celebrated economic union last week, the allied leaders essentially sent a message to Moscow that the Soviets need not fear the venerable a united Germany as NATO (page 20). They displayed to make a specific commitment to limit the size of Germany's armed forces as part of an agreement on cutting conventional forces in Europe. And they vowed to modify the mid-1960s doctrine of "forward defense," a commitment to defend all alliance territory at its borders with massive NATO forces. American, British, French, Belgian, Dutch and Canadian troops based near the front are the most visible sign of that commitment. Instead, the allies pledged to work towards reducing their troop strength in Germany and deploying smaller, highly mobile multinational forces to defend NATO territory. At the same time, they proposed strengthening the 35-nation Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a move that Gorbachev himself has suggested. And they offered to sign a joint declaration of nonaggression

with Warsaw Pact members to help reassure the Soviets further. Said President George Bush: "I hope that they will look at the changes that have taken place in NATO and say, 'Well, if NATO had been a threat to us, it is no longer a threat.'"

In fact, Gorbachev had expressly asked for just such assurances. In a two-page letter that Soviet Ambassador Leonid Kravchenko delivered to Thatcher's residence at 10 Downing Street on the eve of the summit, Gorbachev called for a "partnership for peace" to replace the bitter distrust that had characterized East-West relations in the past. And openly acknowledging the severity of his domestic problems, he asked for Western "aid and assistance" to bolster his flagging reforms. That latter question was expected to be a major topic this week in Houston, where the seven major industrialized nations, the Group of Seven, are holding their

reunion, but it is essentially meaningless."

Yet even that rhetorical change encountered objections from last Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Drawing accusations that she was a "Cold War warrior," Thatcher nonetheless declared, "We need to maintain a strong defence because you never know what threat may emerge in the future." Some right-wing London tabloids went even further. Warned the *Daily Mail* that "The West Army's top brass are restless, and some British Brigades may try a coup d'état. Alternatively, the U.S.S.R. might plunge into a civil war in which nuclear arms could get into the wrong hands." As for Thatcher, the line Lady acquiesced after the allies agreed that NATO would continue to possess nuclear arms and would use them as a deterrent—or against an aggressor.

At the same time, NATO leaders avoided a contentious debate about the future modern-



NATO troops on maneuvers in West Germany: a pledge to limit German forces

ization of nuclear weapons. The final communiqué made no reference to a new generation of doubly nuclear weapons known as SSBNs, far tactical air-to-surface missiles, capable of hitting targets inside the Soviet Union from a distance of 500 miles. The missiles, currently under development in the United States and France, have been a contentious issue within NATO, where some smaller nations have argued that deploying them undermines the spirit of East-West arms reductions.

In the end, the NATO leaders seemed to achieve their two main goals: they sent a goodwill gesture to Moscow while maintaining a strong enough defense posture to satisfy most hawks in the West. The question was whether that balancing act represented "a profound strategic change in NATO itself," as Malinowski asked—or merely one political camouflage over the old warfare.

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HELMUT MACKENZIE in London

World Notes

FLOODING FROM ALBANIA

Thousands of Albanians fled to foreign embassies in Tirana, the capital, in a rush to flee Europe's last Stalinist state. The would-be exiles followed violent street protests and public frustrations over the government's slow implementation of decision in May to grant pass-ports to people wanting to go abroad. The European Community called on the Albanian government to grant the exiles—without sale pass-ports out of the country—and requests that military police had shot at refugees and had tried to seal off the area leaving most of the foreign missions.

A CAPITAL UNDER SIEGE

Rafael Angelino Soto, the Liberian capital of Monrovia is President Samuel Doe kidnapped himself weeks a fabled massacre with a dwindling number of loyal forces. Doe, who seized power in a 1980 coup, declared a U.S. offer to help him leave Liberia, a West African nation founded in 1847 by freed American slaves, Washington has a task force of 2,300 marines and four ships off the coast to evacuate foreigners if necessary.

HARVEI RE-ELECTED

In Prague, the parliament re-elected former dissident playwright Václav Havel as president of Czechoslovakia. Havel, 53, who had been interim president since December, was elected for a two-year term, winning 234 votes out of the 284 cast in the 1990 state assembly.

A GAS LEAK

About two tons of chlorofluorocarbon gas slipped into the atmosphere during an accident at a nuclear-research base in southern England. The gas, used as coolant in a gas-cooled reactor, leaked from the outer layer that protects the Reactor from some of the sun's harmful rays. Biologists said that the escaped gas was equivalent to the amount used in one million cubic meters of air, 17,000 cubic meters. An incident occurred in London more than 96 nations agreed to phase out most CFCs by the year 2000.

THE SHADOW SENATOR

Two-time Democratic presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson announced that he would run for a "shadow" Senate seat from Washington in order to lobby Congress to select the District of Columbia as the 53rd state. Washington's city council recently created two shadow Senate seats and one House seat, which will replace on the local November ballot. The nation's capital has only limited house rule and no voting representation in Congress.

Cool.

Cooler.



uniquely refreshing character. After a dip, the mixer makes it a perfect drink!

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referred this to a distant future, yet the matter should not be put off."

In general, Gorbachev's political standing seemed successful last week. For one thing, there was speculation that he had skilfully manoeuvred a series of resignations from the ruling 12-member Politburo. They included two full members, Nikolai Sinyukov and Vitaly Vorotnikov, one member of the party apparatus, Gennadi Ustinov, and something Politburo member Alexander Iyechikov. All of them were regarded as either mavericks or uncertain supporters of Gorbachev's policies, and their departure appeared to strengthen Gorbachev's position.

It is increasingly apparent, however, that many ordinary Soviets no longer feel that way. One poll, conducted in June by a television station in Siberia, found that only seven per cent of respondents think current Communist party policy fully reflects their interests. Moscow's High Party School, an elite training centre for senior party engineers, recently made public the startling results of another

had unveiled earlier plans to quit the party. Said Andrei Goshov, a reformer and Communist delegate from Leningrad: "We feel, from a pragmatic point of view, that the changes we asked can best be achieved within the party."

It is increasingly apparent, however, that many ordinary Soviets no longer feel that way. One poll, conducted in June by a television station in Siberia, found that only seven per cent of respondents think current Communist party policy fully reflects their interests. Moscow's High Party School, an elite training centre for senior party engineers, recently made public the startling results of another

Earlier this year, Gorbachev, in a meeting with miners' representatives, pleaded with them not to strike again. But, in a statement last week, the miners called on the existing government to resign, saying that it is "incapable of carrying out indispensable reforms, largely because it is not trusted by the people."

There are signs that Gorbachev and other Communist leaders have still not recognized the full extent of discontent among ordinary Soviets. Many ordinary Soviets were openly disappointed by Gorbachev's recent declaration that he still supports the retention of Communist "cells" in schools, the military and the workplace. The cells, which are made up of Communist members, were responsible in previous regimes for identifying acts and people reported to be "anti-Soviet." Today, their function is more benign, but they still exert a large measure of control over hiring, promotion and distribution of perquisites. Said a Moscow-based Soviet journalist: "As long as they keep that, they keep the real power."

In addition, despite the country's economic woes, Communist leaders apparently have no place to redistribute the party's enormous wealth. Last week, officials acknowledged that the party's holdings, including printing presses, property, schools, office buildings and vacation retreats, are worth \$9.6 billion. Many reformers say that these holdings should be turned over to the government. But, and Nikolai Kravchenko, a Central Committee official, that demand is absurd. "To weaken the party, deprive it of its material base and make it unable to engage in political struggle."

The party, in fact, may already be losing that struggle. As congress delegates arrived at the Kremlin last week in 22 thousands, many Muscovites played down the significance of the event. "The results of this congress will not affect us," declared Oleg Haladov, a 40-year-old factory worker. "This is not a leading body, it has lost its power." With Communist supporters still holding most major decision-making roles in the country, that assertion is well to be tested. But it is a reminder of how dramatically Soviet thinking has evolved in more than half a century, since the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky wrote "The earth, as we all know, begins at the Kremlin. It is her central point!" In the interim, that Moscow summer, that once deep-rooted belief in shoring up a crumbling empire.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH in Moscow



Demonstrators in Gorky Park no longer believe the party can solve the country's problems

chance's position. Still, the magnitude of Beryukova, the highest-ranking woman in the Soviet leadership, drew gases from delegates when it was announced.

In addition, despite their harsh criticisms of Gorbachev, members of the party's conservative and liberal wings alike still appeared to support him personally. Boris Gerasimov, the party leader from Leningrad who is a rising favorite of conservatives, and that he would back Gorbachev's continued leadership of the party. Politburo member Yegor Ligachev, widely regarded as the country's leading conservative, defended Gorbachev's five years in power in a tone of "blind adulation," but said nothing about acting him as leader. Many liberal delegates also said that they would support him. And about 100 delegates who back the reformist Democratic Platform said that they

public opinion poll that it conducted last month across 12 regions of the country. Twenty-one per cent of respondents said that they support the party's existing platform, while 42 per cent said that they back the more liberal Democratic Platform. Among nonmembers of the Communist party, only two per cent said that they would like to quit, among party members polled, 23 per cent said that they plan to quit.

Even as it contemplates such findings, the party leadership faces a renewed and potentially devastating challenge. Shortly after the congress began, coal miners in the region of Ruzhik in Ukraine announced plans to walk out on July 11 to protest working conditions in the mines. Similar strikes by coal miners in Ukraine and Siberia last July and November are estimated to have cost the Soviet economy more than \$12 billion through lost production



East German children examine West German toys dropped over the walled years

GERMANY

No turning back

The two Germanys forge an economic union

SEATTLE—The Rawlco went to the bank last week and walked out with a sovereign blue billion and a crisp new 500,000 bill. At midnight on June 30, the newborn East German marks in her account at the glowing new Deutsche Bank branch in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz had been converted into West German deutsche marks, one of the world's strongest and most trusted currencies. For East Germans, the conversion of their "east marks" as part of a wide-ranging treaty uniting the two parts of Germany is an economic and social union was clearly a happy occasion. But while most took it with typical Prussian reserve, Rawlco appeared overjoyed. Clutching the 100-DM note (worth about \$70) in one hand and her 15-month-old son, Dorey, with the other, she burst into tears and declared, "This is our happiest day! Everything else before it was a lot of words but now things can't go back—they can't take this way."

The overnight replacement of East Germany's old currency by the deutsche mark was by

far the most radical economic step taken by any of the central socialist countries of Eastern Europe. At the same time, East Germany adopted West Germany's capitalist economic system, ended control of its currency to the West German Bundesbank and abolished even puppetish border controls along its frontier with the rest of Germany. That exposed East Germany's miserable economy to the full force of worldwide competition at a single stroke. And it amounted to the virtual disappearance of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) as a sovereign state after nearly 41 years as a Communist stronghold in Central Europe. *Neues Deutschland*, the newspaper of East Germany's former Communist party—now called the Party of Democratic Socialism—acknowledged as much when it headlined its coverage of the monetary union, "Freefall CRASH." West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl made the point somewhat more subtly when he told a television audience: "The citizens of the Federal Republic [West Germany] and the took

are now irrevocably linked. We have waited for this for 40 years."

The impact of the economic union also accelerated the drive toward a complete political unification of the two German states. On July 2, the East German coalition government declared that as all-German election, leading to formal unification of the German states should be held on Dec. 2. Two days later, the Bonn government agreed upon the same date, clearing the way for merger before the end of 1990. Kohl said he was confident that the international security issues raised by such a move, notably Soviet concerns over a united Germany's membership in NATO, can be settled by them.

For East Germans, such as unemployed Berlin resident arduous opportunities and dangers presented by the incorporation of their country into the booming West German economy. In the last few weeks before the introduction of the deutsche mark,

they had gone on a spending spree with their once-to-be worthless east marks. Many East German stores were left empty as shoppers snapped up supplies of food and clothing at the old, state-settled prices. But when the stores reopened on July 2, their shelves had been restocked with hard-earned Western goods. Daily East German consumers were suddenly exposed to the luxuries and fine merchandise in a shop store in West Berlin's central shopping district, Chausseestraße, where shoes, coats and dolls prospered crowded in packaged DDR food products out of the supermarkets. And in the five-story Christmas department store at Alexanderplatz, it was difficult to find any East German goods at all among the displays of Western clothes, furniture and clothing.

In Communist times, the department, Margareta Küller and Ursula Jung, after workers in their mid-50s, were contemplating the loss of their automatic coffee makers. They were not surprised by the prices or the quality, they said, because they had made frequent trips to West Berlin to look at the stores. Both women complained that, in the past, they had spent large sums to buy expensive East German televisions and cars that were now virtually worthless. Küller said: "We should be 20 years younger to really get the benefits. What a waste!"

In the east, the two women decided not to buy anything, like most other East Germans, they received criticism when they got behind of their first deutsche marks. The Bundesbank, West Germany's central bank, had distributed 600 tons of paper money and 500 tons of coins, amounting to about \$18 billion, to banks throughout East Germany. At the same time,



East German residents shop for their new money before the remarkable restoration

East Germany's Staatsbank allocated its virtually worthless currency—nothing down the shelves of stores for everything and leaving them of old east marks bills in an abandoned store.

Under rules agreed upon by both governments, savings accounts in east marks were exchanged at a rate of one-to-one for deutsche marks, up to a limit of 10,000 marks for children, 4,000 for adults and 8,000 for senior citizens. The rest were exchanged at two-for-one. But while the Bundesbank had predicted that East Germans would withdraw about 6 billion DM in the first two days of the week, they actually took out only 4.5 billion. That cheered economic analysts, who had voiced hopes that the East Germans would not embark on a wild spending spree that might fuel inflation, now running at three per cent a year in West Germany.

In fact, East Germans reacted to the monetary revolution with remarkable restraint. Only at midnight on June 30, when the two economies were merged, did they celebrate. Some 20,000 people crowded East Berlin's central square to count down the seconds to 12 a.m. Many joined the entrance to a bank branch that opened to exchange money at the stroke of midnight. At the same time, the last few East German border guards left at the crossing points between the two halves of Berlin, and along the east-west German border, abandoned their posts. But, by the next morning, the license plate numbers were orderly, and the people, thronging into the freshly stocked stores did more looking than buying.

In part, the calm reflected widespread fears about the future. While the stores were crowded, so were East Berlin's recently opened unemployment centers. By last week, East Germany's Labor Minister Regine Hildebrandt said, 150,000 people were out of work

in the DDR—less than two per cent of the workforce. But most economists expect that number to rise as East German businesses lay off workers or go bankrupt in the face of Western competition. Karl Kusch, a Deutsche Bank director in West Berlin responsible for loans to East German companies, predicted that as many as two million of the DDR's 8.5



million workers may be out of a job by the end of 1990. A few analysts say that the number could be much higher—up to four million.

At one unemployment center in East Berlin, 28-year-old Frank Bärner was signing up for unemployment benefits of 850 DM (about \$400) a month. Along with 1,500 other employees of a Berlin electronics company,

Bärner was laid off on June 29. "We are in despair, our small company," he said. But Bärner said that he still welcomes the change. "It's not something else," he said. "There's just a new way to do the old system." Down the hall, 41-year-old Gertie Levenstein said that she had come just to see how the unemployment center operates even though she still has a job as an accountant at a street-paving company. "It's really just a matter of time, isn't it?" she asked. "I mean, how are we going to compete against a Western company with new equipment? I figure I'll be out of work by September, so I might as well get ready."

All indications are that she will not be alone. At von Dröge & Forman, a second-hand clothing store in the eastern suburbs of East Berlin, director Detrich Ludwig was signing up and exactly how many employees he had to fire. In March, the enterprise employed about 300 people; last week, 500 still worked there, and Ludwig said that he expected that no more than 300 will remain by September. Detrich has dropped by two-thirds for many of the company's products, including parts for the tiny Trabant car that has become a symbol of East Germany's economic backwardness.

Like other senior East German managers, Ludwig was a member of the Communist party, giving up his membership only in March. On the walls of his office last week was a faded portrait of Lenin, as well as a new Mercedes calendar. When a reporter pointed out the portrait, Ludwig jumped up from his chair and took it down. "I guess I just didn't notice it anymore," he said with a grin. "But a lot of things will have to change around here." For all of East Germany, much the same could be said.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Berlin

THE UNITED STATES

Facing a new frontier

The major economic powers confront change

For months, Texas bronco-busters have been buffing their cowboy boots and steer-roping stans have been dusting off their 10-gallon hats. As the decadalists of America's frontier days prepared to kick off the 1993 annual summit of seven major industrial nations in Houston this week with a rodeo and country-music concert, their Old West theme could not be more appropriate. The real Commanche world has collapsed since the previous economic summit last July, and the leaders of the United States, France, Britain, Italy, West Germany, Japan and Canada faced the challenges of a new frontier in the changing global order. "This is an exceptional year," declared Derek Burney, Canada's ambassador to Washington. Not only has the "unthinkable" actually happened, he added, "but now we have got to think about it."

Unlike past summits, where most of the issues were settled weeks in advance, large parts of this year's three-day meeting proved to be spontaneous. Before the leaders gathered at Houston's Rice University, they were sharply divided over significant issues among them, a German proposal for a massive cut package to the Soviet Union and a global trade agreement that threatens to collapse over the question of agricultural subsidies. As a result, other challenges, including public pressure for international action against pollution, may be achieved.

The collapse of the Soviet empire has called into question the assumptions, including industry-based GNP, that underpin the world's major economic nations since the first economic summit near Paris in 1975. The simultaneous emergence of a united Germany is a move closely tied to European Common Market, has encouraged warnings that the world may break into regional trading blocs—Europe led by Germany, Asia led by Japan and the Americas led by the United States. American economists warn that a debt-riddled United States could find itself in third place in a new international pecking order.

Already, the Europeans seemed poised to take the lead in creating an economic foothold in the Soviet Union and its former satellites. In advance of the Houston meeting, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, with French and Italian support, pressed his proposal for a \$27-billion Soviet aid package, arguing that the West must throw a lifeline to beleaguered Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. But President George Bush had said that any direct aid to Moscow, before it undertakes fundamental economic reforms, would be wasted. Some allies

noted that Bush is under intense domestic pressure to restrain spending in the face of budget deficits that have already prompted him to rescure on a 1986 campaign promise not to raise taxes.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was expected



Scholars at Houston's Rice University, the summit meeting place, divisions

ed to seek a coordinator's role—arguing that economic assistance be extended to Moscow, but only after the West can ascertain exactly what kind of help would be most useful. Aid to the former Soviet satellites is less controversial. Last week in Brussels, a wider group of 24 industrial nations that had already directed aid to Poland and Hungary agreed to extend assistance to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and East Germany. (They excluded Romania for human-rights abuses.) Canada committed \$60 million to the plan.

But as global events, the biggest challenge in Houston is how to break through a deadlock hampering efforts to promote freer trade. At stake is the so-called Uruguay Round of negotiations to reform the 87-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Those talks, launched in Uruguay in 1986, are scheduled to wind up by the end of this year. A major disagreement centres on Washington's proposal to eliminate agricultural subsidies, which crop tappers around the world see as estimated \$215 billion annually. The European Comman-

ty wants to retain subsidies that keep its high-cost farmers in business. For Canadian farmers, who say their subsidies have already suppressed world grain prices and forced many of them into bankruptcy, the failure of the Uruguay Round could spell many more years of hardship. "Canada," said Burney, "has more stake in a successful round than the big boys."

Although the environment dominated last year's Plaza summit, world events have dominated it to third place on this year's agenda. Canadian officials say that they will press for strong action on global warming, a process that scientists say is caused largely by automobile and industrial pollution. But a coalition of international environmentalists that convened a parallel summit in Houston prepared a scenario that notes each of the seven nations on

compliance with commitments made at the 1989 summit. Canada tied with Japan for fifth place—only Italy scored lower.

Not all the summit topics were breeding grounds for disagreement. Negotiators secured a consensus attacking such problems as the international drug war. And Bush was expected to paper over the differences on Soviet aid by telling Kohl that he may proceed alone if he wishes.

Still, analysts say that future U.S. influence depended on Bush's ability to exercise leadership at a time when Bonn seemed poised to seize the initiative. "How Bush reacts will tell us a lot about the future of American foreign policy," said Michael Mandelbaum, a senior fellow at the New York City-based Council on Foreign Relations. "This year after the Cold War is the key. And that process, that sunset, begins at Houston."

MARY McNEITH with MARY McDONALD in Washington. JANE BRADY in Toronto and R. KAYE PULLEN in Ottawa

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THE TASTE OF THE ISLANDS



Mazowiecki and Miller: a warning not to question the legitimacy of government

POLAND

A cabinet shakeup

The prime minister bows to Walesa's demands

In recent weeks, the coalition government of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has had to grapple with a major riot strike. It also dispatched police to break up two protests by angry farmers demanding guaranteed prices for their produce. But Mazowiecki's most serious problem was a potentially ruinous power struggle between workers and intellectuals in Solidarity, the once-banned trade union movement whose dramatic rise to power last September inspired its formation throughout Eastern Europe. Its leader, former shipyard electrician Lech Walesa, has accused "eggheads" in the Solidarity-led government of destroying Poland's "beneficial revolution" with austere economic policies and collusion with former Communists. In turn, supporters of Mazowiecki have accused Walesa of "despotic" behavior. But last week, under fire from his former ally, Mazowiecki waved the white flag.

In a major speech to parliament on July 6, the prime minister attempted to restore momentum to his government's flagging reform program by bowing to Walesa's key demands. He announced the resignations of several cabinet ministers, including three of the four former Communists who remained in the government in the old regime's pincer for Solidarity coming to power last fall. He also agreed more rapid privatization of state enterprises and proposed that presidential and parliamentary elections be held "significantly earlier" than next spring. But, at the same time, Mazowiecki issued a warning to Walesa: "I see danger on the

pernicious Polish road to democracy," he said. "At a time of great change in our part of the world, Poland cannot afford for the legitimacy of the legislative authorities to be questioned."

Mazowiecki's supporters have been outspoken in their opposition to Walesa's ambitious plan to replace former Communist leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski as president. The war of words turned into action last month, when 63 top intellectuals resigned from Solidarity's 200-member Citizens' Committee, signaling a fundamental break within the union.

Observers said that Mazowiecki's concessions last week were an attempt to keep Solidarity from disintegrating and to give Walesa's crucial support as Poland struggles to create a free-market economy. To that end, he was parliamentary approval to fire the ministers of interior, defense and transport, all former Communists, and the minister of agriculture, who is a member of a party bitterly allied to the Communists. In an embarrassing reversal for Mazowiecki, however, the parliament, where ex-Communists still hold two-thirds of the seats, refused to back the firing of the constitutional minister.

With the cabinet shuffle, Mazowiecki appeared to have won some measure of political peace. But it could well be short-lived. At week's end, the country's 2.5 million farmers threatened nationwide roadblocks to protest the government's economic austerity.

ANDREW HILAND with BOGDAN TURKOT
in Warsaw

SAUDI ARABIA

Pilgrimage to tragedy

Catastrophe strikes in Islam's holy city

It was sweltering hot, nearly 44° C, as devout Muslims attending the last days of the annual haj, or pilgrimage, surged through the 520-m-long pilgrim-run tunnel connecting Mecca to a holy city in Makkah last week. Without warning, Saudi officials said later, a railing on a bridge above the tunnel gave way, sending seven pilgrims tumbling to their deaths as top of people below. Some witnesses said that the air-conditioning system had also failed, adding to the panic as people groped for breath in the stifling tunnel. A stampede ensued. As the frightened pilgrims pushed and shoved their way to exits, hundreds of people were trampled to death. Many more suffocated. "It was an unbearable sight," said one survivor from his hospital bed. "I lay on a heap of more than 20 bodies." In all, at least 1,626 people died, and scores more were seriously injured.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd described the July 2 tragedy as "the will of almighty God." Said Fahd: "Perhaps it was their fate to become martyrs." But, to Islamic leaders, the accident showed that the Saudis were not fit to administer Islam's holiest shrine, sacred Mecca, which is the birthplace of Mohammed, the seventh-century prophet and founder of Islam.

"This is a bitter incident which cannot be taken lightly," said Imam's President Abul Aker Hashim Rafiqi. Hea reported that by the third year in a row to protest a Saudi ban on political protests and a quota limiting the number of pilgrims from each country. When Iran last allowed its nationals to attend the haj, in 1987, pilgrims staged anti-Western demonstrations, and 402 of them, mostly Iranians, were killed in clashes with security forces.

Most of the two million pilgrims who came to Mecca recently are Arab and elderly, making the once-a-lifetime haj demanded of Muslims. The Saudi government provides medical care, builds tented pilgrim cities and distributes free umbrellas and cold water. Soldiers waded the sidewalks, and gladiators scowled at any mangle with the crowds. Despite all those efforts, hundreds of pilgrims die each year from heatstroke, occasional epidemics—or violence. But while Muslims around the world mourned last week's disaster, their grief was tempered by their belief that pilgrims who die during the haj go straight to paradise.

MARY NEMETH with correspondent's report

H₂Oh-Oh



Canada's most abundant natural resource may be Canada's biggest health concern.

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Drinking diet pop in Toronto: allegations of improper business practices

BUSINESS

THE TEST OF COMPETITION

Aerobic exercise drills. Fat diets. Liposuction. Losing weight is not a pleasant task. But it got a little easier nine years ago when an adobe-tan when people called aspartame made its debut on grocery-store shelves. Aspartame, an artificial sweetener now common in diet soft drinks and other snack food, has made calorie-counting almost painless. And it hardly costs a cent. Indeed, every time a consumer pays 90 cents for a can of diet pop, less than a penny goes to cover the cost of the low-calorie sugar substitute that sweetens the drink. The value of the entire amount of aspartame consumed in Canada each year is just \$25 million, or less

OTTAWA'S NEW MONOPOLIES LAW IS ON TRIAL IN A CRITICAL CASE OVER NUTRASWEET

than \$3 a person. But those modest amounts in no way reflect the importance of a precedent-setting case involving aspartame now before the Federal Competition Tribunal.

The case is a critical first test of a key section of Canada's new competition legislation, and it pits NutraSweet Co. of Skokie, Ill., whose sweetener accounts for 95 per cent of Canadian aspartame sales, against Toshi Canada Ltd. of North York, Ont., NutraSweet's last surviving aspartame competitor in Canada. Ottawa's competition watchdog, the Bureau of Competition Policy, alleges that, since 1987, NutraSweet violated several provisions of the legislation and abused its dominant position in the market. Although the cost of aspartame represents only a tiny portion of most consumers' budgets, the case raises issues that go to the heart of competition law, which is designed to protect consumers from companies that try to improve profits by excluding competitors. Says NutraSweet's lawyer, Bruce McDonald: "The question is where to draw the line—when does hard competition get so hard that it stifles competition?"

For the bureau, which is supposed to encourage competition in the Canadian economy by tracking down and stamping out anticompetitive behavior such as price fixing or tied selling, the case will help define the limits of its power under the 1986 Competition Act. The act replaced Canada's much-criticized competition laws, under which Ottawa secured just two convictions under the monopoly section of the law. The bureau, economists, corporate lawyers and other business clients are eagerly awaiting the three-man tribunal panel's decision, expected later this year. The panel is an independent body appointed by the federal government and must include two federal court judges and a lay member.

The first hearing in the aspartame case, which dealt with the competition arguments, ended in April. The case came before the tribunal after the bureau's director of investigation and research issued notice to complain. Toshi. But the bureau is now in case and for Toshi to obtain any redress, they must prove that NutraSweet controlled the aspartame market in Canada, that it practiced anticompetitive behavior and that competition was reduced as a result. Under Ottawa's new legislation, monopolies are permitted as long as they do not abuse their power. Before the tribunal can reach its decision on the competition complaint, it is going to hold a second hearing, beginning July 10 in Ottawa, on whether or not

its questionable behavior is contributory and void under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

For the two companies, the case is the latest battle in an ongoing war for global market share in aspartame, a key ingredient in the fast-growing and lucrative diet food market. Aspartame is the generic name of an artificial sweetener 200 times sweeter than sugar. It does not cause cavities and adds just 1.8 calories to a can of Diet Coke, compared with the 122 calories in a regular Coke.

Toshi sells aspartame produced by a joint-venture partnership between its Japanese parent and a Dutch company, Holland-Sweetener Co. Toshi non-possessor Louis Hoban says that his company's future could hang in the balance. While the Canadian market is small—less than 30 per cent of the world aspartame market—Hoban says, "it's just a first step for us. If we get established in Canada, it gives us a great platform."

Although aspartame is used in a number of diet foods, including chewing gum and quats, by far the biggest use for aspartame is in the fast-growing diet-soda market, where the large-

companies to compete vigorously. And for business in general, the decision will make clearer what they can and cannot do. Says Toshi lawyer Alan Pratt: "This case will set the tone for business what the limits of this idea of abuse of dominant power might be."

NutraSweet started out with a legal monopoly because it owned the patent to produce aspartame. The Tucson-based pharmaceutical company G. D. Searle and Co., which owned the sweetener, was bought by Monsanto Co., a St. Louis chemical company that now owns the NutraSweet Co. Many chemical companies are trying to develop alternative low-calorie artificial sweeteners, but the food industry generally considers aspartame the best one now available.

With or without patent protection, NutraSweet is a clever and formidable competitor. Indeed, even when NutraSweet's extended patent expired in the United States in 1983, other aspartame manufacturers still have trouble outwitting its marketing muscle. The company has managed to turn a bare aspartame, aspartame, into a well-known brand name, NutraSweet, that has been advertised for years on millions of products.



Shapiro: a better job of delivering top quality

Robert Shapiro, chairman of NutraSweet, said he moved to Monsanto's agricultural products division earlier this year, a credit with being the brains behind NutraSweet's success. Shapiro says the NutraSweet case and legal help to sell products now Shapiro declined to be interviewed by Marston's but, in a 1988 interview submitted to the Competition Tribunal, Shapiro said: "We're not selling a miracle. We are selling a whole package of value to our customers and our customers' customers." NutraSweet's goal, he added, was to be able to keep companies "even if a competitor offered sweetener for free."

Aspartame was patented in Canada in 1976, but because of confusion created by federal food and drug authorities, it was not allowed on the market until 1983. Shortly before NutraSweet's Canadian parent began its case, Shapiro was asked to be a consultant offered sweetener for free.

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Business Notes

RECESSION WARNING

There was new evidence that the Canadian economy is sliding towards a possible recession. Statistics Canada's index of 10 leading economic indicators, which includes such items as inventories, housing starts and total business investment, fell in April for the third consecutive month. The decline was the biggest monthly drop since the recession of 1982 and followed a 0.2-per-cent decline in March and a 0.3-per-cent drop in February. The agency's chief of current analysis, Philip Cross, says that the index shows that "we're moving further along the path" to a recession, or two consecutive quarters of negative economic growth.

BREAKING UP LEIGH

Poodle Chase, Que.-based electronics manufacturer CPM Inc. announced that it will buy the Ottawa-area plant, buildings and inventory of bankrupt Leigh Instruments Ltd. Leigh, which relied heavily on defense contracts, manufactured as well as traffic control systems and other aerospace and communications equipment. The company had 150 employees when it declared bankruptcy in April, but CPM said that it expects to pick up many of Leigh's outstanding federal contracts.

PAPERWORKERS SETTLE

WPA analysts predicting continued bottlenecks for the pulp-and-paper industry, 4.4 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product, 2,300 workers in three Quebec mills voted to accept a new contract that will give them a 10.5-per-cent wage increase over the next three years, but low other improvements. Union leaders, who had argued for a 15 per cent increase, rejected the new contract affecting 36,000 other pulp-and-paper workers in Eastern Canada, but single higher wage increases tied to the impact of the proposed federal Goods and Services Tax.

JOBLESS RATE FALLS

Canada's unemployment rate fell slightly in June to 7.5 per cent, from 7.6 per cent in May. Manufacturers hired more workers last month, but construction and transportation firms reduced their payrolls.

BIG THREE DOWN

Foreign automakers are continuing to win more of the Canadian market from the Big Three domestic manufacturers. Domestic car and truck sales fell to 84,403 in June, down six per cent from the same month a year ago, while import sales rose five per cent to 35,023.

presented them from buying aspiraine from anyone else. These exclusive contracts are a key issue in the case now before the tribunal. One of the questions the tribunal will deal with is why the Canadian subsidiaries of the worldwide corporate giants Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola agreed to sign restrictive contracts that limited their supply options.

The contract between Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola and the tribunal argue that Coca-Cola and Pepsi agreed to sign because they were motivated by factors beyond the Canadian market. NutraSweet's patent in the United States, which represents more than 80 per cent of the world market for aspiraine, continues until the end of 1995. As a result, Coca-Cola and Pepsi will have to rely on NutraSweet as their sole source of supply for aspiraine in their own home market for two more years. The tribunal argues, therefore, that it is not Coca-Cola and Pepsi's attempt to carry favor with NutraSweet. Says Warren Grouer, the bureau's counsel: "Their interest is self-interest. They don't care about providing competition in Canada. Their interests are worldwide. Canada is a very small proportion of their worldwide market."

Tasch and the bureau also allege that NutraSweet dramatically reduced its price as an anticompetitive act intended to drive competitors out of the market. While NutraSweet declares to reveal its price, Tasch's bureau says that NutraSweet's price has dropped to somewhere between \$33 and \$34 a pound, depending on the customer, from about \$60 a pound when it was first introduced in Canada in 1981. Indeed, Heilman questions how long aspiraine prices would remain that low if there were no other competitors in the market. Says Heilman: "I can't believe this is the long-term price for

aspiraine." Tasch entered the market in Canada offering aspiraine at \$45 to \$50 a pound.

NutraSweet's McDonald, however, says that the rapid drop in aspiraine prices after NutraSweet's Canadian patent expired is evidence that competition is indeed working. NutraSweet says that a just dose of selling that its competitors by offering high-quality product at competitive prices. McDonald adds that, if the competition bureau had believed that NutraSweet was guilty of "unreasonably low" pricing, it could have charged the company with the criminal offence of predatory pricing. Says McDonald: "They didn't because they didn't have the evidence."

Brownstein agrees that it is often difficult to distinguish between predatory pricing and healthy price competition. The tribunal panel, which is made up of two judges, Barry Strayer and Max Teitelbaum, and one economist, Frank Roseman, a competition expert, faces

the difficult task of drawing the line. The case is further complicated by three additional factors. The tribunal may consider the issue of patent protection and decide how quickly the industry will become competitive after a legal monopoly ends. Then, there is a constitutional challenge prompted by a Quebec Superior Court ruling earlier this year, which said that the quasi-judicial nature of the tribunal violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms because the panel members are appointed by the government for a fixed period of time and, therefore, their impartiality is in question. The tribunal itself has decided to rule on its own fate, but NutraSweet and others could appeal.

As well, Maclean's has learned that certain information relating to taxes paid on NutraSweet's Canadian sales, which was part of the extensive confidential material the tribunal panel has received, but which has not been made public, may have an impact on the tribu-

nal's decision. Says NutraSweet's McDonald: "I believe any tax matter is a 'red herring' that has no bearing on the competition arguments. But other legal experts say that the tribunal might find that the information raises criminal questions."

In the end, the tribunal will have to decide whether NutraSweet is simply a clever, aggressive marketer that bested the competition fairly and squarely, or whether, in its zeal to hang on to the benefits that accompanied the invention of this low-calorie chemical, it simply went too far, too fast.

RENEE DALGLISH

SETTING A NEW STANDARD



Heilman: a bigger share of the market

competitive actions under civil, rather than criminal, law, ensuring that federal prosecutors would no longer have to prove their cases to the tough standards required by criminal law—beyond a reasonable doubt. That was included in a step forward, because most anticompetitive behavior can be arranged quietly among a small group of people without leaving behind the hard evidence needed for a criminal conviction.

Without hard evidence, competition watchdogs had little on which to build cases. Under the old law's monopoly section, Ottawa obtained only two major convictions, including one of the country's most famous competitors.

case. In 1964, Eddy Meuch Co., based in Hull, Que., was convicted of predatory pricing, forcing competitors into bankruptcy and taking over their operations.

The NutraSweet case is the first test of the new act's "abuse of dominant position" sections, which replace the old monopoly offences.

The old rules forbade companies to create a monopoly, which was defined as an entity that acted against public interests. Now, simply being a monopoly is no longer an offence—a company must also abuse its dominant power by preventing the development of any competition.

Economists say that the new Competition Act has already proven more effective than the old legislation in several recent cases. But the NutraSweet case is its first major test. Says York University economist David McKinnon: "Whatever the outcome, this case is going to set the history books."

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Molson bottling plant in Toronto preparing to fight international competition

Brewing beer wars

The challenges grow for a protected industry

Larry Harrison has worked at a Molson Coors Ltd. brewery in Regina for the past 13 years. The divorced, 38-year-old shopper says that life has been good at the plant. He and 300 fellow workers earn a healthy average wage of \$18 per hour. And for decades, Canada's major brewers could practically guarantee workers like Harrison a well-paid job for a lifetime, because restrictive provincial beer regulations protected the brewers from out-of-province and foreign competition. Those protective regulations, in effect trade barriers, required producers to set up a brewery in any province they wanted to sell beer as if they wanted to benefit from a provincial pricing system that favored domestic producers. But now many U.S. brewers and trade officials, as well as Molson, Canada's largest brewer, and the federal government, are attacking these challenges to the regulations, which they say have unfairly protected too many small, inefficient Canadian breweries. In fact, Toronto-based Molson, citing the need to internationalize its production, has already closed four of its 16 breweries and plans to shut down three more by the end of the year. Said a worried Harrison: "We always hear rumors that we're next on the chopping block."

Similar fears are spreading among the 18,000 Canadians employed in 67 plants across the country and 162,690 others in sales, distribu-

tion and other related industries. Ottawa and the provinces began negotiations to unravel the complex web of interprovincial and foreign beer barriers in 1986, after the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade ruled that the provinces' laws, beer and wine regulations discriminated against foreign producers. Under the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the United States agreed to exempt beer, provided that Canada followed GATT rules and did not erect any new barriers. Ottawa, in turn, pressed ahead with its talks with the provinces to conform with GATT's decision and eliminate the barriers.

So far, however, federal officials have been stymied by the combined opposition of the provinces and Canada's second-largest brewer, London, Ont.-based John Labatt Ltd. Labatt argues that huge U.S. beer-makers will flood the Canadian market with cheap beer if the restrictions disappear overnight. Ottawa and the provinces also face hard choices. Together, they raised \$4.1 billion from beer taxes last year. But they could lose a large portion of that revenue if they are forced to eliminate taxes on foreign beer, which are used to raise the price of foreign beer above domestic beer.

The provinces are also fighting to protect their share of the direct and indirect jobs that depend on the beer industry. As well, after the Meech Lake accord collapsed, Ottawa was

forced to cancel a meeting with the provinces on the beer issue after Quebec announced that it has suspended its participation in all federal-provincial negotiations.

But while the talks in Canada are drifting into limbo, the pressures from abroad are intensifying. Late last month, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills launched an action under U.S. trade law, which is separate from the 1988 GATT ruling. Under Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act, U.S. companies can ask Washington to investigate and to retaliate against foreign countries who violate U.S. rights under GATT and other international trading agreements. Hills alleges that provincial pricing practices "discriminate against U.S. beer exporters."

The G. Heileman Brewing Co. Inc. of La Crosse, Wis., filed a petition under the act after the Ontario government slipped a \$2.40 handling charge on its 24-bottle cases of Lone Star and all other U.S.-made brands last July. Until then, financially troubled Heileman, which is owned by Australian financier Alan Bond's Bond Corp. Holdings Ltd., sold 254,400 cases a month in Ontario for up to \$8 a case less than ordinary Canadian brands. But after the Ontario surcharge, sales fell dramatically to 2,000 cases per month. Said Randy Smith, Heileman's vice-president and general counsel: "It was the straw that broke the camel's back."

Although beer is exempt from the Free Trade Agreement, Smith maintains that GATT is the ultimate authority on global trading issues. Under the U.S. Trade Act, Canada is allowed 150 days to respond to any complaint or face possible retaliatory action by Washington, which could place import charges on beer or other Canadian products. But last week, International Trade Minister John Crosbie said that the U.S. action is unnecessary because

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Ottawa is vigorously attempting to remove the provincial barriers in response to the GATT ruling.

Canadian beer executives predict that, even with the added pressure of the U.S. action, the whole question of interprovincial barriers will take at least several months before it is resolved, because the provinces are reluctant to relinquish any control over the \$300-million industry. Each province has guaranteed itself a up from the beer industry with elaborate regulations on pricing, distribution and warehousing. As a result, such foreign-brewed brands as Heileman's Lone Star have been largely shut out, leaving Canadian beer producers with a 95-per-cent market share.

The provinces are trying to protect brewing plants that have been an integral part of the economic and cultural life of smaller cities across Canada for decades. Apart from providing jobs, Molson and Labatt have sponsored softball tournaments, concerts and other local events to maintain their grassroots presence. But since second-ranked Molson took over third-ranked Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Ltd. in January 1989, and became Canada's largest brewer, it has closed down plants in Lethbridge, Alta., Saskatoon, Winnipeg and St. John's, Nfld.

Now, however, is the wake of the U.S. and GATT rulings, the competitive threat to Molson and Labatt from huge U.S. brewers, who can produce beer much more cheaply than they can, is growing. Every year, American plants typically produce about 1.1 billion litres each—the equivalent of 3.75 billion bottles—while the largest Canadian breweries can produce only about 320 million litres.

Although U.S. imports accounted for only 3.5 per cent of Canadian beer sales last year, that American no-hold has quadrupled since 1986 because the prices of U.S. beer have periodically fallen below the price of domestically brewed beer, even after federal and provincial taxes. But American companies would like to sell more of their own U.S.-brewed beer in Canada.

But the provinces have a huge financial interest in helping the domestic brewers. On average, for every dollar's worth of domestic beer sold, the province takes about 18 cents in taxes and Ottawa takes about 18 cents. By comparison, U.S. breweries hand over only 16 cents to federal and state governments for every dollar's worth they sell. Said Sandy McEwan, president of the Brewers Association of Canada: "Provinces are one way the provinces attain the full economic benefits of beer."

For that reason alone, Ottawa's efforts to comply with the GATT ruling have become



Reason: "We hear rumors that we're next on the chopping block"

searched at a seemingly endless round of proposals and counterproposals. The next round of beer talks is scheduled for September, but Quebec could scuttle the meeting if it still refuses to participate.

Meanwhile, Molson and Labatt, the nation's two biggest beer-makers, are both vigorously lobbying federal and provincial officials, with

Molson in favor of lifting barriers quickly and Labatt opposed.

Both are faced with the reality that total beer sales have been drastically flat since 1985. In 1988, Canada consumed an average of 90.2 litres of beer per year, less than in 1986 and the 10th year in a row that average per capita consumption has decreased. Labatt, whose market share has held steady in recent years, argues that foreign competition could seriously damage the industry. Edward Stewart, Labatt's vice-president of corporate affairs, warns that if barriers are lifted unilaterally, more cost-efficient U.S. brewers will quickly flood the Canadian market. That, in turn, would likely force Labatt to shut down some of its plants.

Molson executives, on the other hand, say that free trade in beer is inevitable. With both Ottawa's response to the GATT ruling and the Heileman decision looming over the industry, Molson executives say that they want a gradual elimination of trade barriers so the company can ease into an international market system. Barry Jude, a Molson senior vice-president, warns that interprovincial barriers must be phased out or Canada will continue to lose control of its own trade policy to international authorities like GATT. Says Jude: "We must accept the future instead of sticking our head in the sand."

Smaller Canadian brewers are also sharply divided on the issue. Some smaller western brewers support Molson's position. Terry Myers, president of Drummond Breweries in Red Deer, Alta., says that free trade is acceptable as long as smaller companies like his are given enough time to prepare. Myers says that regional brewers should be granted unrestricted access to other provinces in advance of foreign or big Canadian brewers. Then, after a three-year period, Myers says that everyone should have unrestricted access.

The growing foreign assault on Canada's beer barriers has intensified the pressure on Ottawa and the provinces to come to an agreement. Heileman's Randy Smith says that if U.S. trade authorities uphold his complaint and no accommodation is reached with the provinces, the U.S. authorities will almost certainly retaliate against Canadian beer exports to the United States. In the end, Larry Hansen, the nation's breweries and the 141,400 Canadians who depend on them for their livelihood will likely have no choice but to face the realities of free trade head on.

MICHAEL HARRISON with correspondents' reports



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DRINKING LESS



FIG. 100

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BUSINESS WATCH



The man who poisoned Meech Lake

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Out of office but not out of power, Pierre Trudeau continues to loom the national agenda. The Liberal party, which he self-marched to oblivion, now has its leader Jean Charest, a Trudeau clone who checks speeches with his mentor, while Don Johnston, Trudeau's law partner and ideological soul mate, is the party's president.

At the same time, Trudeau's most powerful protégé, former deputy prime minister Allan Rock, has brought the nation's legislative program to a halt, repeatedly using the Liberal majority of Trudeau-appointed senators to block every piece of important legislation passed by the House of Commons. But the most feared—and most dangerous—of Trudeau's hand-picked is, of course, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, his onetime constitutional law associate who killed the Meech Lake accord.

Kindly the most enduring image of the retired Meech Lake psychodrama was the television shot of a smiling Trudeau at the Calgary Liberal coronation, patting his loyal disciple Wells on the back for a job well done. The future of a united Canada seems irrelevant to both men, unless it evolves precisely according to their demands and insular concerns, which are as outdated as John Diefenbaker's conviction that he could win over Quebec voters by distributing bilingual government cheques.

Last week's conflict between Wells and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney came down to one crucial issue: why Federal-Provincial Relations Minister Lowell Murray didn't return Wells's telephone call on the last day of the Newfoundland house of assembly's crucial Meech Lake debate. Even if every son of Wells's client that he was enabled by Ottawa during that last hectic maneuvering is correct, we don't let your country go because of a missed phone connection. As Ontario Premier David Peterson noted at the time, "the tragedy that I watched yesterday was almost a

The malice of Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells has placed the future of Canada in permanent jeopardy

farce, with the missed phone call, and someone overreacting to what was said or reported. If I was as overly sensitive about some of the things said about me, I would break down and weep about every half-hour. But that's the nature of the business. What's at stake here is not someone's off-the-cuff sensitivities, but our country and constitutional future."

Wells's view of the national future, based up as it is in Trudeau's dreams of past glories, is undoubtedly the main obstacle to modern political thought. Even his mode of speech is less political than that of a prosecuting lawyer delivering his final summation to a dubious jury—all righteous thunderbolts, his arguments marinated not just to prove his right, but that on other versions of events demands.

When he is in private practice, Wells seldom had law partners but only well-worn partners to do his bidding. This one-man approach has also characterized the conduct of his cabinet meetings. He treats most of his ministers like unrepresented fundies. According to an anonymous story making its rounds in St. John's these days, Wells recently arrived his eideschtopf cabinet crew to the Hotel Newfoundland

"And what would you like for lunch, Mr. Wells?" asked the waitress.
"Roast beef!"
"And the vegetables?"
"Oh," replied the waitress, peering around the table. "They'd have roast beef, too."
Although he has made a fetish of refusing to move on Meech Lake without consulting "the people," Wells announced unilaterally last April, the day after his party was elected with the second-smallest majority ever recorded in his province, that he had a mandate to renege on Meech Lake. Without consulting the voters or even holding public hearings, he rescinded his predecessor's signature on the accord. Like Trudeau, he has never repudiated the documents as being vital to Canada's future. Wells is adamantly opposed to Quebec having any—or even appearing to have any—rights not open to everyone else, an attitude encapsulated in his repeated objections to Quebec's justified claim that it is a distinct society.

This is a particularly galling position for a Newfoundland premier to take, because if there already exists a distinct society, it's Newfoundland. Jack Pickersgill, the Liberal veteran who helped negotiate the province's 1949 entry into Canada, has pointed out that Newfoundland's Terms of Union contained "several provisions covering powers and imposing obligations quite distinct from those of any other province."

The reason five premiers (Alberta's Getty, Quebec's Bourassa, Nova Scotia's Buchanan, British Columbia's Vander Zalm and Saskatchewan's Dwyer) as well as Mulroney have accused the Newfoundland premier of killing Meech was that at their Ottawa meeting that ended on June 3, Wells himself drafted the controversial paragraph that pledged him to use "every possible effort" on behalf of the accord, and to put it either to a referendum or to a legislative free vote.

Although he hired Mulroney, as well as New Brunswick's McCreery, Peterson and Dwyer, to address the Newfoundland legislators with the clear gleam that a vote would be held on Meech, Wells went back on his word—and his signature: On the Thursday evening before the Meech deadline, at a private dinner with Mulroney, Wells was still reassuring the Prime Minister there would be a vote. An informal poll that night showed that Meech would probably pass by a margin of two votes.

There is no more telling admission of the damage that the Trudeau-Wells axe has inflicted on this country than Bourassa's statement, delivered when he felt certain that Meech would pass. "For many Quebecers," since 1981, when Quebec was excluded from the Canadian Confederation, "the Quebec premier said, 'Canada was only a country in law. From now on, with the ratification of the Meech Lake accord, for all Quebecers, Canada will be a country in fact—a real country.'"

That was said only a month ago, but it will be a long time, if ever, before the Quebec premier looks so optimistic about Canada. The words of Pierre Trudeau, the weakness of Jean Charest and the malice of Clyde Wells have placed the future of this country in permanent jeopardy.

THE WONDER DRUG

**PAIN RELIEVERS
CAN DO MORE THAN
REDUCE FEVERS
AND SOOTHE A
COMMON HEADACHE**

Ever since Carl Stephenson began experiencing chest pain four years ago, his life has undergone important changes. Tests showed that Stephenson, a chemical engineer with Calgary-based Enso Resources Canada Ltd., was suffering from a partial blockage of the coronary artery, a condition that made him a prime candidate for a heart attack. Since then, he has watched hard at cutting his risks: he exercises more and eats less fat. Stephenson also takes a daily dose of a drug widely used as a heart attack preventative: acetylsalicylic acid (ASA). Stephenson, 60, who takes his ASA in the form of a coated tablet called Entrophen, says that he decided to try regular doses of ASA in 1986 after a study in the United States showed that taking the common household pain reliever—commonly called Aspirin—on a regular basis almost halved the risk of heart attack in a survey group made up of healthy, middle-aged male physicians. His own doctor expressed approval of the idea. Said Stephenson, "I always thought of Aspirin as something to take for headaches. I was amazed to find it had other benefits as well."

Simple: For most of the 20th century, ASA (in Canada, the name Aspirin is a registered trademark of Amcor, Oat-based Sterling Drug Ltd.) has been a staple in household medicine cabinets. Indeed, according to industry statistics, Canadians in 1989 swallowed more than one billion Aspirin and generic ASA tablets to deal with complaints that ranged from head colds and influenza to insected aches and pains. But the drug, which is its generic form costs only about 10 cents per pill, may be capable of far more than reducing fevers and soothing everyday headaches. In recent years, medical



Heart patient undergoing ultrasound tests: ASA reduced the risk of attacks

researchers have found evidence to suggest that ASA can play a significant role in preventing and treating heart attack and stroke. And despite the development of newer and more expensive drugs, ASA is still routinely used to reduce the pain and inflammation of rheumatic arthritis.

Some studies have suggested that regular doses of ASA may also lessen the frequency and severity of migraine headaches, which affect as many as one in five Canadians. In addition, studies are under way that could lead to the use of ASA in strengthening the immune system in some patients. Said Dr. John Givens, a cardiolo-

gist who is chairman of the department of medicine at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont.: "Aspirin really is a wonder drug. It's amazing what it does and how cheap it is."

Rarefied: Despite ASA's remarkable versatility, most types of painkillers, such as Tylenol and Naprox, which do not contain ASA—and which do not possess ASA's apparently wide range of benefits—have made heavy inroads into the over-the-counter painkiller market. As a result, the share of the market held by Aspirin and ASA dropped from 86 per cent in 1985 to 38.3 per cent this year as rival pharmaceutical firms wage a



Sterling Drug employee making Aspirin: doctors caution patients about popping tablets daily

letter battle for market share (page 62).

Despite its wide range of useful medical properties, ASA does have certain drawbacks. Its side effects include possible stomach upset (caused by the acid-ASA irritating parts of the stomach lining) and excessive bleeding in a small number of people because it thins the blood. As a result, physicians caution people against popping tablets daily without medical supervision. Since 1980, medical researchers have found evidence linking the drug to the development of Reye's syndrome, a rare but sometimes fatal disorder that primarily affects the brain and liver. The syndrome has struck children and teenagers with viral infections such as influenza and chicken pox. According to Alan Gee, a spokesman for the Reye's Syndrome Foundation of Canada, "We haven't had a report of a case for nearly three years, since the warning label went on ASA products in October, 1987."

Warning: And doctors were pragmatic when not to risk ASA, because it may cause excessive bleeding to mother or baby during delivery, as well as prolonging labor in some births. Earlier this month, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in Washington announced that a strengthened warning would be required on ASA products advising women to avoid ASA, particularly in the last three months of pregnancy, because of possible fetal blood circulation problems and other complications. FDA officials in Washington said that the new warning was partly

prompted by recent studies carried out at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md. Since 1986, Ottawa has required Aspirin and ASA products to carry a warning advising women to consult their doctors before using ASA during the last three months of pregnancy. As well, Dr. Mark Adams, an associate professor of rheumatology at the University of Calgary, said that U.S. studies have found

Bayer's standard stroke-prevention treatment



Four decades later, Felix Hoffmann, a research chemist for the German pharmaceutical firm of Friedrich Bayer & Co., demonstrated ASA's usefulness as a pain reliever by producing it in a laboratory and then having a colleague test it on Hofmann's father, who was suffering from rheumatoid arthritis. In 1900, Bayer started mass-producing and marketing the drug, initially in powdered form, under the trade name Aspirin.

Most of the attention focused on ASA during the past 35 years has been prompted by growing evidence that the drug can help prevent heart attacks and strokes in some people. William Anderson, 42, an Ottawa-based neurologist, underwent surgery for a severe aneurysm condition six years ago. On his doctor's advice, Anderson has for the past four years taken one ASA tablet every night. Said Anderson, "I never used ASA before the surgery. If I had a headache or something, I would just put it off to go away. Now, this is part of my life."

Uses: In 1971, Sir John Vane, a scientist working at the Wellcome Research Foundation laboratories in Beckenham, England, made important new discoveries about acetylsalicylic acid that led researchers to find new uses for ASA in stabilizing the formation of blood clots, which can block coronary arteries and lead to heart attacks. By Day, a 59-year-old Brampton, Ont., woman who runs a small business making floral arrangements, began taking an ASA tablet a day in June as a stroke preventative. Because Vane had revealed several years in that chain in which acute blood clotting is a blockage of the blood vessels feeding the brain. Day says her physician recommended ASA as a precautionary measure to lessen the likelihood of further

indications that ASA may thin human cartilage and accelerate the development of osteoarthritis, a degenerative disease that affects millions of joints. Said Adams: "ASA can have some pretty serious side effects. I wonder if, with what we know today, ASA could have become an over-the-counter drug."

Reade Still, in a growing body of research attacks, the humble ASA tablet is also uncommonly rich in medical potential. The drug's roots stretch back more than 2,600 years. A natural chemical named salicin, occurs in the bark of the willow tree, and according to ancient accounts, the Greek physician Hippocrates in the fifth century BC recommended chewing willow bark to lessen pain and fever. But it wasn't until 1853 that a French chemist, Charles Frederic, gave Germany acetylsalicylic acid, a chemical in which salicin is a basic component.



Right: most over-the-counter analgesics are effective when it comes to the task of relieving normal pain

THE PAIN-KILLER MARKET

THE COMPETITION REFLECTS THE HIGH STAKES

Every evening, viewers of prime-time television in Canada and the United States are subjected to a barrage of advertisements for headache remedies with impressive-sounding, polysyllabic names. In one, an actor portraying a soldier, while coated in a "jet research lab" assists viewers that the drug *Aspirin* is "stronger than pain." In another series of ads, headache sufferers testify to Tylenol's ability to make them feel better. The commercials, and many others like them, represent the heavy artillery in a multimillion-dollar battle among pharmaceutical companies for the lucrative North American pain-reliever market. Said Joseph Kiefer, vice-president of government and corporate relations for *Novartis*, Overbrook Sterling Drug Ltd., which manufactures *Aspirin*: "It's a very competitive market. We're all competing to treat the same ailments."

reflects the high stakes to be won in the analgesic market. In 1989, American consumers spent about \$2.3 billion on prescription headache medicines, while Canadians spent \$295 million. Even though doctors attribute a growing list of health benefits to acetylsalicylic acid, the active ingredient in *Aspirin*, the 17-year-old drug has steadily lost ground to newer pain-killers that do not cause as many side effects as *Aspirin*. As recently as 1982, *Aspirin* and other ASA tablets, including *Asacin* and *Buflin*, commanded 64 per cent of the Canadian analgesic market. Today, rival products such as *Tylenol*, *Asacin-3*, *Excedrin* and *Paralol*, which are based on the chemical acetaminophen, have reduced the share of the market held by *Aspirin* and ASA products to just 38.3 per cent. Acetaminophen products, which lack *Aspirin*'s ability to reduce inflammation and prevent clotting, do not have *Aspirin*'s potential for irritating the user's stomach lining.

At the same time, Kenneth Soltesz, a vice-

president at Toronto's *OMN Advertising Ltd.*, which represents *Sterling Drug Ltd.*, said he expects sales of ibuprofen, a potent pain-killer that only became available for over-the-counter sales in Canada last summer, to gradually carve out a share of the market. Ibuprofen's therapeutic effect is similar to that of *Aspirin*, but it lacks one of a tendency to irritate patients' stomach linings at higher dosages. It is sold in Canada under the brand names *Advil*, *Nurofen*, *Migrenol*, *Aspergolen* and *Micrin* m.

Products. Another new over-the-counter product introduced in Canada last year, and sold under the brand names *Ribocic*, *Ribocet*, *Ribomol* and *Ribomol-CL*, is based on a muscle-relaxing chemical called methocarbamol. The new drug is sold in various forms—by itself, and in combination with acetaminophen (*Ribomol*), with ASA (*Ribomol*) and with ASA and caffeine (*Ribomol-CL*).

Because of the increasingly confusing array of pain-killers available, experts say that man-

ufacturers rely heavily on multimillion-dollar marketing campaigns to distinguish their products from their competitors. Said Ray Deshpande, a Toronto pharmaceutical consultant: "A lot of it is just good marketing." Indeed, Deshpande said that there are often less significant differences among competing pain relievers if they are administered in equally potent doses.

Problems. Typically, pharmaceutical manufacturers try to ensure a solid position in the market by producing an entry in each of the three major analgesic categories: Bristol-Myers Squibb Co., for one, markets an ASA product (*Aspirin*), an acetaminophen tablet (*Excedrin*) and an ibuprofen-based pain-killer (*Advil*). But pharmacologists point out that, while there may be several acetaminophen products available, such as *Tylenol* and *Paralol*, all have basically the same chemical composition. According to St. James Wright, a University of British Columbia clinical pharmacologist, the same holds true for most ASA and ibuprofen products. In addition, most over-the-counter analgesics are similarly effective when it comes to the task of relieving normal headaches or reducing fever. Added Wright: "But I have a hard time seeing one is better than the other."

With so many similar products on the shelves, marketing strategies often assume paramount importance. Robert Uhl, an analyst with the New York City-based investment firm of Salomon Brothers Inc., said that even though inexpensive generic brands of ASA and acetaminophen are widely available in both Canada and the United States, they still poorly compete with the more expensive—but extremely advertised—name-brand products that usually sit neatly on drug-store shelves. Typically, in a downtown Toronto drugstore last week, *Sterling's Aspirin* sold for 24 cents per 325 mg tablet, while generic ASA tablets of the same strength sold for 1.5 cents each. Said Uhl of the generic pain-killers: "They're like the higher-priced analgesics, but they have had very little penetration in the over-the-counter market."

Problems. Although ibuprofen-based analgesics have been sold as over-the-counter drugs in the United States since 1984, they became available for over-the-counter sales in Canada only last summer. Originally developed in England to treat the pain of arthritis, ibuprofen products such as *Advil*, *Migrenol* and *Motrin B* account for 33 per cent of analgesic sales in the U.S. market. In Canada, the new ibuprofen products have enjoyed a far more limited success. Last year, five major Canadian drug companies contributed large budgets to the launch of their new ibuprofen products, with *Sterling Drug*, for one, spending \$10 million to promote *Aspergolen*, while *Bristol-Myers* spent \$2 million to promote *Novartis*. Despite the lavish launches,

by the end of 1989, ibuprofen-based products had captured only six per cent of the pain-killer market in Canada. But *OMN Advertising's* Soltesz predicted that sales would increase if the new product's advertising campaign is successful. He attributed *Aspirin*'s initial sales partly to the fact that, in some Canadian provinces, including British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, consumers cannot buy ibuprofen if the drugstore shelf, but must ask a pharmacist for it (even though a prescription is not needed). *Sterling Drug's* Joseph Kiefer predicted that the arrival of the new product in the marketplace would not expand the market, but would simply intensify competition in many pain relievers fields for consumers' attention. Said Kiefer: "The analgesic market does not grow just because new products are tossed into it. It just gets more fragmented."

Partly as a result, the market share for



Shopping for pain-killers: selection is often confusing

Aspirin and other ASA products has declined in spite of widespread publicity about the drug's value in preventing heart attacks and strokes. Jerome Brimmer, a drug industry analyst for the *McGraw-Hill*-based investment firm *Dowd Water Reynolds Inc.*, said that North American drug companies have been unable to exploit feelings about the therapeutic properties of ASA to gain a marketing advantage. Indeed, federal regulations in Canada specifically bar companies from promoting any product to consumers, other than physicians and hospitals, as a means of treating heart disease

Under the federal Food and Drug Act, companies are required to submit all advertising claims based on medical findings to the health-protection branch of Health and Welfare Canada for review.

One of the greatest marketing successes in the analgesic field has been scored by *Tylenol*. New Brunswick, N.J.-based *Johnson & Johnson* introduced *Tylenol*, the first of the acetaminophen pills, for adult use in 1961, and effectively capitalized on the fact that acetaminophen, unlike ASA, cannot cause stomach upset. *Tylenol* marketing has paid off. *Tylenol* is the leading acetaminophen pain-killer sold, together with other acetaminophen products, accounts for 37.1 per cent of analgesic sales in Canada and 36 per cent in the United States. Said Robert Uhl: "People think there is something great about *Tylenol*." In 1982, *Ed* public relations work secured a new quarter for *Tylenol* after seven people in the Chicago area died from overdosing.

Tylenol capsules, that had been lauded with credence by a still-unknown person, *Johnson & Johnson* acted quickly, recalling *Tylenol* from store shelves and withdrawing the drug in several packages.

Problems. In the past, intense competition in the analgesic market has led some companies into problems with authorities. In the United States, the Federal Trade Commission has often charged cases on questionable product claims. In 1961, the FTC brought false-advertising charges against four drug companies, including the makers of *Aspirin*, *Budger* and *Asacin*, after the firms sponsored advertisements claiming that their products were superior to the others—even though all the tablets shared the same active ingredient, ASA. But the case proved to be so complicated that the FTC eventually abandoned its action.

In Canada, Ottawa keeps close watch on the same as the law enforcement advertisements. The federal department of health and welfare processes commercial for broadcast and publication in the print media, and *Michelle* H. Health and Welfare's chief of product registration, says that the department sometimes rejects advertisements that make unsubstantiated claims. Said H: "They can say that it takes one of a headache, but not that it makes you feel better after a hard day at the office."

Despite limitations of that kind, analgesic manufacturers are likely to get on with the public, with streamlined information on new products, each one claiming to conquer pain faster and better.

AUGUSTA DYER

PEOPLE

THE BLOCK CHILDREN

Few bands have inspired young girls like New Kids on the Block. Sells Robert Mitchell, publicity director for Cas Records, Canada, their Canadian distributor: "If they're coming for a concert, girls camp out on our lot hoping to see them." Step by Step, their new album, took only two weeks to reach the top of the *Billboard* charts, and the five young men from Norcross, Mass., have sold more than 20 million copies of their three earlier albums. Adds Mitchell: "It's phenomenal when you consider that almost all of those buyers are girls between 8 and 14."

New Kids sold more than 20 million copies



All in the family

Mom is definitely a family affair for Bethel two singers Sara Brown. The daughter of Joe Brown, who is a blues guitarist, and Vicki Brown, who is a singer, Sara, 25, has already had two hit albums, the 1988 album *Love* and the current *April Moon*. Both recordings were produced with her younger brother, Peter—and her parents are featured on the second. Sara, who is now producing her mother's latest album, says that she was not pushed into singing. Adds the London-based singer: "Because I was always around music, I just developed a natural feel for it."



Brown's a natural feel for it

RARE AS THE DRIVEN SNOW

To play a TV reporter in the movie *Old Man McCarthy*, Canadian actress Sherry McCarthy says that she had to spend time "everywhere there was an airport that had snow." McCarthy, 34, said that she visited five American airports as the producers of the current hit thriller sought a location with a December holiday look. "I don't think people in L.A. really know where they can find snow," added the actress. "Also, not too many airports were keen to be used as the site of a takeover by terrorists."

Switching channels

After 34 years as cohost on the cbc's current affairs program, the 66th edition, *Five Mailing* will begin the next television season as host of rival cttv's 9:35 *Sad Mailing*. "I've been very proud to work for the cbc. It's been a great association. But then down come a time to leave. I had ideas about changing the format of current affairs shows, and cttv was on the same wavelength." Mailing, 43, said that his goal at 9:35 is to "make it fresher." He added, "We will fit the production in the stories and not confuse with the rigid three-stories-per-hour format." For the veteran newscaster from Swift Current, Sask., the move is a homecoming of sorts. After three years as a guest reporter, working for such papers as the *Regina Leader Post* and *The Toronto Star*, Mailing began his tv career at cttv in 1974, before moving to the cbc in 1976. "I was very bad at the beginning—I really learned TV at the expense of cttv," said Mailing. And he added, "Nobody ever hired me for my pretty face."

Mailing: 'on the same wavelength'

GIFT OF YOUTH

For Vancouver-born actor Greg Spottiswood, looking younger than his 25 years has proven to be an asset. Last month, Spottiswood won an Emmy for his performance as a 16-year-old in the cbc-Disney TV movie *Looking for Miracles* and he is now playing an 18-year-old boy in the Toronto production of the drama *Unidentified Human Remains*. Says Spottiswood: "Looking younger than I am has given me lots of opportunities." Indeed, Spottiswood is playing a 19-year-old cricket player in an episode of cbc's *Road to Avonlea*, and his is the voice of an eight-year-old pig in an animated show, *Pig Out*. But all the work is creating a unique problem. "I'm so busy," says Spottiswood, "that I'm struggling to get some sleep, so I don't start looking my age."



At the cottage



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End of
Summer

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HEALTH

Turning back time

Researchers reverse some of aging's effects

In the 1985 movie *Genox*, a group of elderly retirement-home residents find that their youthful energy has returned after they saw a gold satellite in the sky. (After all, now, turning back the clock has been confined to the realm of science fiction.) But in a report published last week in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, a team of U.S. doctors said that when they injected 12 men between the ages of 61 and 81 with synthetic human growth hormone over a six-month period, some of the effects of aging were reversed. Researchers at the Medical College of Wisconsin and the Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Milwaukee emphasized that the results were preliminary and that the treatment could have long-term side effects. Still, Dr. Donald Rudman, a geriatrics specialist who led the team, said the effects of the hormone "were significant."

During the trial, the doctors injected 12 of the 21 men three times a week with the hormone, which regulates the growth of bone and muscle. The amount of hormone injected was equivalent to the quantity naturally secreted by the pituitary glands in young men. The rest of the men in the study received no injections. The report said that, at the end of the trial, the men who received human growth hormone injections had developed bodies that

in some respects resembled those of men 20 years younger. As well, the men receiving hormone had maintained their original body weight, but had about 14 per cent less body fat and about nine per cent more lean body mass than the men who did not receive injections.

Doctors have long known that the wring amount of growth hormone can cause problems. People born with deficiencies sometimes do not grow to a normal height, while others may produce an abnormally high amount and grow too massive and fat. After the Russian report, other doctors worried that side effects of growth hormone injections could include hypertension, pain in the joints and atherosclerosis (the formation of fat deposits inside arteries). Some physicians warned that too much growth hormone might cause cancer.

Others suggest that small hormone doses may have good results without dangers. Rudman said he planned to test frail elderly people to determine whether growth hormone injections would improve the quality of their day-to-day lives. And now that the trial is over, he added, his team will carefully monitor the men injected with the hormone to determine whether they experience a lasting improvement in body functions, with no damaging side effects.

NORA UNDERWOOD

MEDIA

Tuning in the future

Digital technology is poised to transform radio

Now that digital technology has transformed the record industry, experts predict that a similar evolution will sweep through the radio industry during the 1990s. Last week in Toronto, Canadian broadcasters on a four-city promotional tour demonstrated the sound of digital radio to reporters with a prototype of digital equipment. Officials of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), the CBC and the federal department of communications, who organized the tour, said that digital transmission will provide compact-disc-quality sound and virtually eliminate interference. At the same time, three branches of the U.S. government have promoted plans for a global digital-radio network that would employ a \$1.2-billion satellite system to broadcast music and information. Said Michael McCall, president of the Ottawa-based CBA, which represents 377 local radio stations: "Digital radio is the key to radio's technological future."

The new technology would do the dirty work in conventional radio. Transmitters send out computer-coded signals that are then deciphered and converted into sound by computer and receiver. In the U.S., the executive vice-president of the Washington-based National Association of Broadcasters, which represents 15,000 local U.S. radio stations, estimated that manufacturers could have digital receivers on the market in about five years at an initial cost of about \$600. And he predicted that six and a half years would eventually become obsolete, once consumers had purchased the receivers.

Under the U.S. proposal, which was put forward in April by the U.S. department of commerce, the U.S. Information Agency and the U.S. State Department, the American network, the global network would operate through privately owned satellites over the United States, while government-owned satellites relayed signals from the network's ground stations to the rest of the world. The plan triggered an immediate backlash from private broadcasters in Canada and that a global network is not clear. And, digital radio will eventually take over the airwaves.

NORA UNDERWOOD with WILLIAM LOWMEYER in Washington

Redefining a dream

The search for more affordable housing

It is an endless Toronto lecture hall, a white-based room with heavy black-framed glassed in the rear entrance of about 650 people. Author and urban-planning theorist Jane Jacobs was speaking in her role as a juror in the largest architectural competition ever held in Canada. The site of the design competition, centred housing on Toronto's Main Street was to help alleviate, eventually, the city's housing crisis by promoting the construction of medium-rise residential units above Toronto's shop-lined main streets. Jacobs, for decades an internationally respected advocate of mixed-use development in cities, led the crowd that Toronto would benefit from the increase in residential space in shopping areas. Housing has become prohibitively expensive in several Canadian centres. Now, like Jacobs, many architects and urban planners are looking at ways of increasing residential density as a means of making shelter more affordable.

A move towards greater density is no new-fangled idea from the downtown that North American cities have been making since the end of the Second World War. During the late 1940s and 1950s, the single detached house in the suburbs became a dream that millions pursued in the prosperous post-war decades, the dream got bigger and bigger: while the average size of an early 1950s new house was approximately 900 square feet in total floor space, new Canadian houses today are often nearly twice that size. And at the same time, the average number of people in all Canadian households, including single-person apartments and condominiums, declined dramatically, to 2.67 in 1989 from 4.07 in 1951.

But in recent years, rapidly rising costs and high interest rates have pushed housing prices out of the reach of many middle-class families. In Vancouver and Toronto, Canada's most expensive markets, newly constructed detached houses in May 1990, sold for average prices of \$444,857 and \$445,360, respectively. Said Montreal architect Michel Rybczynski, author of the best-selling book *House: A Short History of an Idea* and *The Most Beautiful House in the World*. "We have to re-evaluate the part of the dream that says that houses



Fredman (left) and Rybczynski in Grow House: no frills

have to be detached and spread out on large lots of land." It will likely be a long and arduous process. In most Canadian municipalities, bylaws prevent high-density zoning in residential areas. And people who already own large houses often oppose the introduction of higher-density developments in their neighborhoods.

Rybczynski and Avi Fredman, co-directors of the graduate program in affordable housing at Montreal's McGill University, unveiled their own response to the housing problem last month. On the McGill campus, they erected a prototype house that they designed called the Grow House, a townhouse with 1,800 square

feet of total floor space. The architects claim that the traditionally styled, two-story unit, which is only 14 feet wide, could be built in most Canadian cities for construction and labor costs of \$40,000. They estimate that, if the house were built a half-hour's drive from downtown Montreal, the land cost would be \$12,000 and the total cost to the home buyer would be \$50,000. Said Rybczynski: "We knew that we couldn't do anything about interest rates—I don't think anyone can—and we couldn't do much about land costs except to reduce the lot size." Still, in some parts of Canada, land costs are much higher than in Montreal. Frank Clayton, president of the Toronto-based, multi-disciplinary research firm Clayton Research Associates, estimated that in Scarborough, Ont., the price of a Grow House lot would be about \$50,000.

The Grow House is a basic, modular unit designed with young, first-time homebuyers in mind. The architects assumed that the buyers will do some of the finishing work themselves: the top floor is an unpartitioned loft-like space that can be used as a bedroom or transformed into two bedrooms with the addition of a wall. The house is also designed so that owners can build additional units on the front or back at a minimal cost. The prototype at McGill did not have a basement, but buyers could select one from an options list for an additional \$4,246. Still, Fredman acknowledged that there is a risk of reluctance about smaller houses. "Today's first-time buyers grew up in the houses of the 1960s, and they are accustomed to large spaces," said Fredman. "But when they try to buy one of these houses now, they see that they cannot afford them."

Adjustments in attitudes may also be needed to translate the ideas of the Housing at Toronto's Main Street competition into practice. Said architect Donald Schmitt, a partner in the Toronto firm of A.J. Diamond, Donald Schmitt and Co. who acted as a professional adviser for the competition: "There is a perceptual problem that living above a street on a street level is a second- or third-class level of accommodation." But he added, "If the units are well designed, I think that it is a very desirable place to live."

Organized by the City of Toronto's planning and development department, and sponsored by municipal and provincial levels of government, the competition called for architects to design buildings with a maximum of five stories,



Vancouver housing project: adjustments in attitudes

leaving retail space on the ground level and reasonably priced residential units on the upper floors. At present, most buildings on the city's neighborhood main streets are between one and three stories in height. But Toronto's planning department estimates that increasing the density in these districts by making the building taller could add approximately 80,000 housing units to the city.

The developers and planners building residential units on existing urban streets make good sense. Said competition co-ordinator

for multi-story developments on a city-wide basis. All of the other winning entries were for buildings designed for one of the sites specified by the organizers. One design included a residential complex of similar components between two existing historic buildings, forming a small courtyard in their midst, and another proposed studio residences for artists on Toronto's proposed Queen Street West district.

Because housing on Toronto's Main Street was an idea competition, there are no immediate plans to build any of the submissions. But

Loane Cuyper: "The infrastructure is already there—public transit, parks, schools, churches, services. Everything, in short, can handle more people living in the city." He added that, instead of homes to service one level of new consumption on the city's outskirts, the Main Street project provided "a way of strengthening and strengthening the inner cores of many cities."

Response to the competition exceeded the organizers' expectations: they received 1,500 submissions, some coming from as far away as China, Yugoslavia and Turkey. A total of 358 designs were submitted. In the end, the jurors awarded 58 prizes to North Americans. The \$10,000 grand prize went to a submission by Alan Carle, Doreen Gauthier and Nicholas Hoggart, a team of architectural students at the University of Montreal. The team was far from a theoretical entry that set out guidelines

city officials intend to use the entries, combined with related parking and economic feasibility studies, as a basis for rethinking current zoning regulations. In many Canadian cities, existing bylaws make it difficult, if not impossible, to increase residential density. Because few Canadian cities permit lots less than 20 feet wide, the Grow House, which is only 14 feet wide, would require a permit from the municipality if it were to be built on a smaller than average lot. Similarly, the high number of parking spaces that Toronto currently requires for new residential units could invalidate many of the Main Street competition entries. Said Gary Beardon, first vice-president of the Canadian Homebuilders Association and president of Beardon Construction & Development Ltd. in St. John's, Nfld.: "The capability to build affordable homes is there. The problem is often overly stringent municipal regulations."

But bylaws are only a symptom, and not the source, of the difficulty. "The problem is inherent in our very historical syndrome," said Beardon. "It's just too long as a \$200,000 house and someone wants to build \$100,000 houses in the neighborhood, your first inclination is to say, 'I don't want that.'"

In the north to come, attention may be put on interesting test in Vancouver. The city has set up an initiative designed to encourage residents who want to remain in neighborhoods where they have lived for some time, but who are now finding their large homes difficult to keep up. The city bought a plot of land in one such area for a test project. An architect designed an apartment building that looks like a house on the site for the older residents. It is denser than zoning regulations currently allow, but the residents themselves are looking on neighborhood doors and explaining that they are the people who would be moving in if a moving crisis in housing arises. The idea of the townhouse, they would live up their own sought-after larger homes. Said Alan McNeill, associate director of planning for the City of Vancouver: "It's a way in which people who live in a neighborhood can help themselves."

Only a generation ago, owning a house was something that the majority of North Americans looked forward to as a matter of course. But, in recent years, young people of moderate income have watched the prospect of home ownership recede. "In the long run," said Beardon, "I think you have to educate people. You have to say to them, look, you bought your house in the 1970s and you're okay, but think of your sons and daughters. The idea of smaller houses and denser residential areas may be one whose time has come. In many parts of France, noted Fredman, narrow, tightly packed houses have long been considered desirable properties. Said the architect: "We've learned lessons about cities from Japan. Now, we have to learn lessons about housing from Europe."

PAULETTE YOUNG

Grow House reflects high prices have pushed houses out of reach for many families



White lightning

The Jeff Healey Band plays incendiary rock

Striking by a winsome Jazzy in the "Celebrity Suite" of a Toronto waterfront hotel, Jeff Healey appeared to leave all the trappings of a rock star. The celebrated young guitarist, wearing a western shirt and jeans and sporting a new perm for his blond, shoulder-length hair, was discussing *Roll to Play*, the Jeff Healey Band's latest album. As leader of the trio, the blond, 24-year-old Healey, who has been widely hailed as one of rock's most innovative new guitarists, is the focal point of media attention. But during an interview with *Maclean's*, Healey went to second lengths to share the spotlight with his band members: drummer Tom Stephens and bassist Joe Rockman. "It's only as important to this band as Joe and Tom are," he said, adding, "Individually, I mean—not that Joe and I together are as important as us." But Healey acknowledged that he has been the group's most high-profile member. "Look, if you get somebody in a band who's kind of who builds their guitar on their lap—I don't care if he's the worst player there is—he's going to attract attention."

Critics have called Healey a genius and the reincarnation of legendary guitarist Jimi Hendrix, a mixture of the moment, including *Roll to Play* and *Roll to Play* by Vaughan, have also paid tribute to his prodigious talent. The Jeff Healey Band's bluesy 1988 debut, *See the Light*, which produced two hit singles, sold two million copies worldwide. And during a roaring world tour, Healey was legends of jazz with his saxophone but exciting band of guitar playing. He was nominated for a 1989 Grammy and won the Juno in 1990 for entertainer of the year. Now, after a barely two-year rise to stardom that included his Hollywood debut in the action epic *Steel Dawn* and appearances on *Late Night* and *David Letterman* and *America's Got Talent*, Healey seems intent on consolidating his success. Aside from past appearances by renowned rock guitarists George Harrison and Mark Knopfler, the group's new album—which has



Healey: called a genius and the reincarnation of Jimi Hendrix

sold about 150,000 copies in Canada and 450,000 in the United States since its release on May 31—offers few surprises. But it does feature confident vocals from Healey and musical compositions by the group, which the band will showcase throughout this month during a 32-city U.S. tour in the spring/early fall. For recent Grammy award-winner *Roll to Play*, apart from the slow, moody blues number *I Think I Love You*, the *Roll to Play* album features rock numbers that seem tailor-made for radio. In a rousing version of Hank Williams' 1950 tune *Whole Lotta Love*, Healey starts vocals and guitar with the ex-Bee Gees' Mowbray. Jeff Healey Band originals such as *Roll to Play* and the title song, both ear-grabbing tracks that feature finger-blistering guitar solos, mean genuine contemporary hard-rock listening.

Now that Healey's stardom is well established, the group is clearly determined to win respect as a full-fledged trio, much like the 1960s rock-and-blues acts the Jimi Hendrix Experience and Eric Clapton's Cream. While

singing about Healey, some critics have dismissed Rockman, 31, and Stephens, 35, as mediocre sidemen who detract from their leader's talent. That has clearly stung the musicians, all of whom are partners in their record and production company, Forte. They insisted that all three participate in the *Maclean's* interview, and the bawdy, boyish-looking Healey refused to answer personal questions because, he said, he wanted the focus to be on the group. Confused the fact-finding Stephens, who has acted as the trio's manager and negotiated a record licensing deal with New York City-based Arista Records. "It has been tough trying to say we're a band. You do an interview, read the article and there's a picture of Jeff alone." Added Stephens, who does bear an uncanny resemblance to Rockman. "And they call me Joe Rockman and Joe, 'Tom Stephens'."

Healey, who was born with cataracts in both eyes, was adapted at three months by his father, but Healey and his music wife, Yvonne, at the time Toronto's adult at *Roll to Play*. Band at the age of 1, he got his first guitar when he was 3—he learned to play it on his lap because he could not get his hand around the guitar neck—and demonstrated his musical gifts early on. At 14, while a student at Etobicoke Collegiate Institute, he was playing in bars at night with jazz, blues and country groups. Then, during a 1985 job interview at a Toronto club, he met Stephens, an urban-planning student, and Rockman, a studio musician, and they decided to form their own band.

Music is an all-consuming obsession for Healey. With his girlfriend, editorial assistant Chris Mayes, he lives in a Toronto apartment crisscrossed with his record collection of 10,000 vinyls and blues CDs that he inherited from his grand-grandfather. Despite a hectic touring schedule, Healey also hosts a weekly two-hour music program on a local university radio station, curating records by such favorites as Scott Joplin, Jethro Tull and Louis Armstrong. Said Healey, whose deep, warm voice seems well suited to broadcasting: "It has become my altar ego. I get a chance to go and be, under the same name, somebody else."

With the stresses of time mounting, Healey has been in radio a safety valve that allows him both a retreat from the music business and an outlet for his grand record collection. But as Healey's star rises, the rock world seems likely to place even more pressure on the Jeff Healey Band.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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Harmon Isaac's *Big Band* at the festival's success

town was. It moved to the Place des Arts and Complex Degradation area, an office, shopping and entertainment district along St. Catherine Street, which is broader than St. Denis.

This year, there were more than 50 talented concert acts, many of them at the three theaters of Place des Arts, as well as 350 free outdoor shows, which created a party-like atmosphere in the downtown core. For the first time, the festival also offered clown, pagans, music and dancers to citizens' crowds. There were even leaders, including a California one who called himself "Shoeborn" and played saxophone while tap-dancing. Said Sinaud:

"I believe the festival has actually improved the quality of life in Montreal."

But Sinaud also recalls the difficult years, when he and Misaud struggled to put on a festival without government grants. After forming a nonprofit society to run the festival, the two concert promoters staged the first, 1980 event at the Expo 87 site and attracted 12,000 spectators. Two years later, on St. Denis Street, the festival drew 30,000 people and more than earned back its \$1-million budget. But then the event began to run into the city government. Local officials that year demanded one of the concert stages after teenagers complained about the noise. In 1985, then-Mayor Jean Drapeau withdrew funding altogether, and the festival lost \$154,000. Said Sinaud: "Dragonard Nord opera and classical music, and he still associated jazz with Montreal's bad reputation of crime and prostitution." Without the city's cooperation, the festival's organizers announced its demise. Supporters came to the rescue, however, even holding garage sales to raise money. The following year, Sinaud became a mayor's sponsor, and the festival was reborn with even more.

Sinaud says that he is determined to improve the festival program every year. Under his and Misaud's direction, a planning committee including local musicians began organizing festival events more than a year in advance. Critics also praised the festival's diversity. Montreal thrived as a model of planning and localization. They say live painting and the last minute, when many artists and clubs were already booked, marked that city's fourth annual jazz festival, called the Maurice Lévy Downtown Jazz, which ran from June 30 to July 1.

Toronto musicians have often complained that local organizers overlook them. But Montreal artists, including such established stars as pianist Oliver Jones, have traditionally shared the spotlight with international figures in their city's Montreal Jazz Festival, which arrived in this year's headquarters, the 39-year-old, long-holding Sinaud recalled how, two years ago, the festival opened its location for the previous eight years, along off and the downtown St. Denis Street, east of the downtown

NICHOLAS JENNINGS in Montreal

ART

Spirit of the West

A summer retrospective celebrates Emily Carr



Big Raven (above); Self Portrait (below): late-blooming artistic genius

Very few artists manage to achieve lasting success. For Emily Carr, the odds against success were overwhelming. She grew up in the late 1890s—a time when women's aspirations outside the home were rarely taken seriously. She spent much of her life in rough, isolated Victoria, which had a population of 3,500 in 1871, the year of her birth. Her own personality also worked against her: a later biographer, she did not cultivate the artistic contacts that would have helped her early career. All those factors combined to keep this uniquely late blossomer out of sight—and celebrated—until her death in 1945, at the age of 74, did also create the dramatic picture of a lone female and West Coast Indian art that made her one of Canada's most respected artists. This summer, Ottawa's National Gallery of Canada is paying tribute to her late-blooming genius with a major retrospective featuring 188 drawings, watercolors and paintings.

The exhibition honors an artist whose work, according to the show's Vancouver-based curator, Denis Shadbolt, has an "astonishing relevance to contemporary issues—native rights, ecological and women's issues." Added Shadbolt: "She wasn't consciously fighting for those causes, but she was ahead of them in seeing them." The retrospective, which runs until Sept. 3, includes famous works from major Canadian galleries, as well as about 30 items from private collections. Some of them have not been shown publicly for 60 years. And the show focuses on the two subjects that dominate her painting: Indian art and landscapes.

One of six surviving children born to British immigrants—her father was a prosperous grocer and liquor merchant—Carr began taking art classes in 1914. In 1909, she left to study art at the California School of Design in San Francisco and, nine years later, she travelled in England for seven years. By then, she had already established a fairly solitary life, generally preferring the company of a minority of pets to that of people. "Being a woman at that time, she knew that if she married she would have to fit herself to the role and become a mother and a housekeeper," said Shadbolt. "She knew that that would not have been compatible to her art."

Carr had become fascinated with native Indians when they were part of her early life in Victoria, but a major turning point came in 1907,

when she travelled to Alaska and saw the artworks of the northern natives. She began visiting West Coast Indian tribes, many of them abandoned. The National Gallery show includes a number of works from those travels, and they provide a fascinating record of a lost world.

Her first great breakthrough as an artist occurred when she painted her studies in 1910. Then, under the liberating influence of the Postimpressionist movement, she freed herself from the naturalistic position of Victorian painting and adopted bolder brushwork and blazing colors. The show includes several paintings done in Prince Rupert, where Carr spent a year and lived on a log cabin, painting only occasionally. Then, in 1927, her fortunes underwent a thirty-fold rise: Carr travelled to Ottawa where the National Gallery featured several of her works in a show called Canadian West Coast Art. Carr and Misaud. On a subsequent visit to Toronto, she met the Group of Seven artists, who praised her work lavishly. In particular, Lawren Harris spurred her on. After seeing his work, Carr wrote in her journal, "It is as if a door had opened, a door into unknown tropical spaces."

She returned to painting Indian subjects with a fury—and with greater assurance. The retrospective includes the 1912 watercolor *Chimhowa*, depicting a woman seen through a window, and a 1901 oil painting of the same subject, *Big Raven* (above). In the latter, the bird became a far more monumental presence against a darker, dramatically stylized sky. And the vegetation around the river's bank, sketchily done in 1915, turned into a rolling, swirling green sea.

Carr's work continued to evolve. In 1935, she began experimenting with painting on metals plates, using a mixture of oil paints and white house paint thinned with gasoline. The improved materials gave her the ability to combine the transparency of watercolor with the metallic sheen of oil. She used the technique to paint a series of portraits of her grandmother, allowing her greater freedom in her brushstrokes. Her work—almost classically photographic in the early years of her career—became more expressive, more to pulse with movement and light. Above the Trees (1939) is a striking, ground-up view of a cedar forest meeting a dazzling blue sky in the National Gallery retrospective.

Emily Carr's loving visual meditations on the splendors of the West Coast prove their lasting power.

FAMELIA YOUNG

MUSIC

Hitting the high notes

Jazz fills the streets of Montreal

It was Canada Day, but the Maple Leaf was nowhere to be seen among the throngs along Montreal's downtown St. Catherine Street. But neither was Quebec's fleur-de-lis. Instead, the most visible symbol was a giant keyboard, emblazoned on billboards, banners, T-shirts and hats. It was the distinctive logo of the 11th annual Montreal International Jazz Festival, an event that has become as big as cow tomatoes politics, even in the politically charged post-Montreal Lake climate. Encompassing three blocks, this year's 10-day festival June 29 to July 30 drew an estimated one million people, one-quarter of them from outside Quebec. Most of the more than 400 concerts featured jazz of one form or another, from bebop and swing to the freer form improvisation of U.S. saxophonist Archie Shepp. But the festival also offered such diverse talents as crooner Barry Bennett, blues guitarist Robert Cray, Broadway star Milton Nascimento and New York City's Latin music queen Celia Cruz, whose free outdoor concert on July 3 drew 75,000 people despite heavy rain. Declared festival director Alan Sinaud: "We have no language problem here. People simply come to celebrate music."

The Montreal Jazz Festival is the grandchild of Canadian jazz orchestras, older and larger than such annual events in Ottawa, Toronto, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria. And it has become a huge

financial success. Last year's festival, which cost \$5.5 million to mount, attracted one million people who spent nearly \$87 million on concert notes and souvenirs, according to a study conducted by Impact Research. The study also found that about 380,000 of those festivalgoers were tourists who travelled to Montreal specifically for the event, contributing \$42 million to the local economy.

The festival had major backing from corporate sponsors, including Alcan Aluminum Ltd. and Lafarge Cement Co., which provided 65 per cent of this year's \$5.5-million budget. Another 10 per cent came from government grants and 5 per cent from radio and TV rights. But the festival is also an artistic success, with its eclectic programming drawing rave reviews from critics around the world. Said Leonard Feather, the venerable Los Angeles *Times* jazz columnist: "It's so big, you can always find something to suit your tastes. It is simply the best festival of its kind in the world."

Director Sinaud, who started the event in 1968 with his partner, fellow concert promoter Alan Misaud, said the festival has surpassed even his expectations. Sitting in the lounge of Montreal's Meridien Hotel, which served as this year's headquarters, the 39-year-old, long-holding Sinaud recalled how, two years ago, the festival opened its location for the previous eight years, along off and the downtown St. Denis Street, east of the downtown

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PUBLISHING

Publishers' poker

Huge authors' advances revive an old debate

Tellany Archer, best-selling British author and former Conservative MP, recently sold the U.K. rights to his newest novel, *As the Crow Flies*, for a single British pound to ESI, New York City. Archer, 58, reached an agreement with New York City-based Harper & Row, Publishers, for an advance in excess of \$24 million for the same novel and another two unwritten books. The deal, which also gave Archer the right to demand the world, except in Great Britain and Japan. As well, Harper & Row acquired film rights. The notion for *As the Crow* changed its British publisher, Hodder and Stoughton, was not a case of chauvinism; it was simply a matter of the publisher's desire to break a universal world of publishing contracts. Archer, 54, told *Manhattan* that he chose to farm a hefty advance in Britain in favor of a higher-than-foreign royalty on the books that have sold well in the U.S. Archer's new novel is largely based on tax resistance—he did not want to receive a large sum of money from more than one publisher in one year. Said Archer, "I've spent five books—including *First Among Equals*—in the U.S. and I've never been able to make back a state of both Britain and the U.S."

U.S. best-seller lists: "I could afford to wait."

Author's contract negotiations—conducted by London literary agent George Greenfield—received extensive media coverage in the United States, most of it focusing on his rejection of a \$234,400 offer from an unnamed U.S. publisher: Ken Pollitt, the British author of *The Eye of the Needle* (1978) and other thrillers, also made headlines last month when New York-based Dell Publishing bought two future Pollitt novels for \$144,400. The package, negotiated by Pollitt's agent, A. J. Suberman, covers U.S. and Canadian hardcover and paperback rights, as well as book club, audio, and film. The figures are large, but contract executive Stephen King's reported \$35-million advance against North American sales of four books with Putnam USA,

The Archer and Follett negotiations brought the issue of large author advances to the public's attention once again. Commenting on media treatment of the news, Toronto-based literary agent and former publisher Leslie McKnight said, "There often seems to be a question as to the fact that all this money is being spent on entertainment." Despite the dizzying figures, consumer advocates say that their au-

confident of their ability to more than make their money back. Stuart Applebaum, a spokesman for Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group Inc. in New York, pointed out that, in the Poller case, two of the most successful publishing groups in North America—his company and Random House—use up with essentially the same old Saul Applebaum: "It's not like somebody wakes up one day and pulled a figure out of the air. Our old ad was worked out based on what we think we can make from these books."

Zakheim said that publishers do make profits from most of the big-name U.S. authors who earn from advances—King, Danielle Steel and Tom Clancy among them. "Publishers are rarely out of pocket on one of these," said Zakheim. Morton Mint, chief executive officer of Penguin USA, which publishes big-seller King, also said that publishing houses are unlikely to lose money on paper books if they have a good sense of the market. Added Mint, whose company was among the bidders in the Feltet auction of a resorted \$11.8 million. "The

illars still mean that you do have to sell lots of books." But since the costs of printing books are roughly the same for all titles, he said, "It really comes down to an author's estimate of how many you will sell." Known authors are a greater asset, West, adding, "It's the realist in me—the \$250,000 ones in the U.S., the \$300,000 ones in Canada—that are the most

publisher's note that while huge ad-
stract publicity, the crucial details of
—including the various avenues a pub-
lisher takes in search of a profit—rarely
public. So, John Franco, editor-in-chief
of *Canada*, "What the media often fail
it is just what is being acquired." In
fact, he explained, a company buys the
right to sell cover rights. That means a pub-
lisher earns other money through subsidiary
paperback rights, foreign-language
manuscripts and sales to book clubs. "With
it can make a very good case that the
own money," said Franco. "The low
potential global earnings of the book
the advance money."

Many authors also point out that the money is rarely paid in a lump sum. In most cases, the publisher pays part of the fee when signing the contract. The rest goes either at various stages—on delivery of manuscript or manuscript, publication of a book edition and sale of a certain number. Said McKnight: "Many have become conditional on whether a book reaches a spot on the best-seller lists or remains on a certain number of weeks."

some regard large advances as critical: the biggest publishers are willing to only on big-name authors—at the expense of new talent. Said one New York agent and publisher: "It's certain an author

to sell a good novel these days if the person is a newcomer. Publishers don't want to take the risk. But a lot of people who are on the best-seller lists now started off years ago with small advances and small print runs."

[illegible]

Some of these deals are quietly negotiated by a publisher, a literary agent and an author—or, less frequently, directly by the author and publisher. The rights for other books, like Poletti's next two, are purchased in what publishers call an auction. Usually, a floor bid—the minimum amount that the author will accept—is set, and then the publishers submit their proposals to the author's agent, usually by phone or fax. So did McGraw-Hill. "Each publisher submits a package of options: the royalty rate, the print run, a marketing plan, how the money from paperback and other subsidiary rights will be split. And the highest advance is not always the best offer."

Dell acquired the rights to the Follett books at an auction, but company spokesmen here have not issued details of the contract. Since Follett owes me more novel to his former publisher, William Morrow, Dell does not expect to publish a Follett work until 1993. To protect that sort of long-term investment in a writer, U.S. publishers routinely take out life insurance policies on their major authors. Said Zuberman: "Since Max Follett is only 41, publishers are not that expensive. And the costs will diminish year by year as his contract matures."

For his part, author Archer says that he was unaware of the insurance practice, and finds it "macabre. It has certainly never been under discussion with my contacts, British or American." Still, the stakes can be so high with multimillion advances that publishers are forced to hedge their bets.

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in New York

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1996

Tunnel of love

A psychological thriller in postwar Berlin

THE INNOCENT

By Ian McEwan
(London & Orion Group, 270 pages, \$24.95)

When it comes to writing psychological thrillers, English novelist Ian McEwan is no novice. His first novel, *The Cement Garden* (1978), dealt with asexual children who bury their dead mother in the back garden. In his next book, *The Comfort of Strangers* (1981), a British couple while vacationing in Venice. McEwan's highly praised, award-winning third novel, *The Child in Time* (1987), was a sophisticated emotional study of a parent's worst nightmare—the sudden disappearance of a child—and the devastating effect such a tragedy can have on a marriage. In his latest work, 43-year-old McEwan again indulges an inclination for placing characters in extreme situations. Set in 1955 Berlin at the height of the Cold War, *The Innocent* combines an atmosphere of postwarous eeriness with layers of political espionage reminiscent of Graham Greene or John le Carré.

The novel's central character, Leonard Marham, is a 35-year-old British Post Office communications technician who serves in postwar Berlin to work on a secret Anglo-American codebreaking project. The project is designed to help the West listen in on Russian telecommunications. Divided into Soviet, British, American and French sections, Berlin is a city rising slowly from defeat, its many bombed-out buildings reminders of the recent past. But, for Marham, a difficult, repressed Londoner who has never lived on his own, Berlin represents an exotic opportunity for independence and self-discovery.

In his new life, Marham is seduced by what McEwan calls "unspeakable longings." Those urges soon another him in two equally seductive individuals. Young a nightclub with some American contacts, Marham meets Maria Edmondson, an attractive 30-year-old German divorcee who seduces him and becomes his lover. At the same time, he grows enchanted by his work in the tunnel. Both preoccupations involve acts of moral descent into the secret underworld of the self and both lead to the loss of innocence. When Marham and Maria make love, McEwan writes, "Down here in the semi-darkness... he seemed to love the smells—sweet like warm grass, and the moistness of her arse." Similar language characterizes Marham's work on the tunnel. In London to visit his parents over Christmas, "Leonard missed Maria, and he missed the tunnel almost as much. He had come to love its



McEwan characters in extreme situations

earth-warm and moist smell, and the deep, smoky-brown silence."

But Marham lacks the emotional and moral maturity to deal with the implications of his cozy new life. His self-absorbed desire to sexually dominate Maria causes a crisis. Marham begs for forgiveness, and the relationship resumes—but without its earlier innocence. Then, things take a fateful turn. Returning to Maria's apartment after their engagement party, the two discover Maria's desecrated, violent ex-lover. Once, asleep there. While they debate what to do, he wakes up. After a ferocious struggle, they kill him in self-defense. From that point, the novel builds with increasing suspense to the climax. Deciding to dispose of the body rather than risk a prison term for manslaughter, the lovers perform the grisly task of dismembering the corpse and stuffing it into a pair of suitcases. Holding a river over Otto's leg, Marham lectures to first. But Maria's Lady Macbeth-like resolve moves him to action. "Just do it," she snarled another breath. "Remember I love you,"

In describing his hero's perilous journey to get rid of the evidence, McEwan occasionally verges on kitsch. After logging the suitcase halfway around Berlin, an exhausted, desperate Marham finally deposits them in his office at the tunnel. Then, he lets open the question to the Russians, who, for their part, will likely be moved by Otto's murder.

Marham's betrayal is only one example of duplicity in a novel full of Cold War intrigue. The British are spying on their U.S. allies to gain knowledge of their advanced electronic expertise. And it seems that everyone is buying and selling information—including George Blake, a real-life British double agent on the Soviet payroll. For the rest, secondary characters tend to fall into national types, including the brawny, peevish American, Bob Glass, and the professional Englishman, John MacNee.

After a shattered Marham returns, alone, to London, the story concludes with a description of his exit to the scene of the crime 20 years later. While filling in some important narrative gaps, McEwan's acute psychological acuity seems somewhat confined. And despite its considerable strengths of plot and atmosphere, and its intricate variations on the theme of innocence, the novel's overall effect is impaired by a protagonist who comes across as something of a self-absorbed twit. But "in a tunnel whose only end was his own insatiable ambition." That Marham's ambition is as insatiable as it is often further proof of his creator's virtuosity.

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FICTION

- 1 *The Burden of Proof*, Thom (L)
- 2 *Found of My Youth*, Myers (L)
- 3 *An Uncommon Woman*, Dancer (L)
- 4 *Message from Home*, Sait (L)
- 5 *The Innocent*, McEwan (L)
- 6 *September*, Fisher (R)
- 7 *Shiny Legs and All*, Atkinson (L)
- 8 *Witness Required*, Morrison
- 9 *Less of Silence*, Moore (R)
- 10 *The Secret*, King (L)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Survivors of Just Society*, edited by Assembly and Trudeau (L)
- 2 *Magnum's*, 2000
- 3 *Purity and Abundance* (L)
- 4 *Reflections at the Gate*, Burroughs and Taylor (L)
- 5 *The World of the Future*, Gorman (R)
- 6 *Man of War*, Whit (L)
- 7 *Father and Son*, C. Wilson (L)
- 8 *Parting with Blouses*, Fraser (R)
- 9 *Wonderful Life*, Gould
- 10 *Debating the Future*, Alder (L)
- 11 *The Trouble with Canada*, Carleton (R)

11 *Promised land*, 2000

Compiled by Brian DeBruin

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The trouble with foreign reporters

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The standard foreign ignorance is well established. The usual lack of interest in Canada, among those of other nationalities, is familiar. There is a legitimate reason for it, of course. We are dull and doleful and don't make trouble and can be tried so not to make headlines, a non-Middle Eastern that does not have the population to have set foot over or actual claim in the world stage.

The standard foreign ignorance is most apparent, in fact, when Canada does make a few headline writers abroad. Only then does the utter lack of knowledge about this country leap to the fore. William Bradford Huie is a veteran journalist, heavy on analysis, who is especially good at charting the path of the changing European scene. In a piece in the *International Herald Tribune*—the headline is "Bureaucratic Canada? We'll give the way you want"—he opens with this: "So long, Canada! It's more than a little upsetting to see you go."

He proceeds again in a rather head-pinning way, talking about how Americans shot up the West, murdered the Indians and overran the land while those poor Canadians "went poor Red Coats to police and bring order to the West"—saying, we were led to suppose, a neat bedtime while going about it.

Here is the ultimate ludicrous reverse (talking that persistence even an intelligent journalist). It was Hollywood that put the fiction Billy Wilder about the romantic Monty Python story and now an American-consistent moment, in his latest for Canada, and plans for an image that never existed. Pierre Berthiaume years back put together a book, *Hollywood's Canada*, that showed how the entire U.S. film industry's "mobile romps" concept of film country as a scenery backdrop for movies plot lines—the French-Canadian lumberjack, the fiery-eyed Indian warrior, the noble Monty Python with the clean jaw—conditioned the world to the gaffe that Huie now writes.

Canada is not going forward. The basic ignorance of how a democratic country operates under the parliamentary system is less-



ful to behold. If you took seriously the foreign press (as foreign readers have to) you would get the impression that the nation is going to be ripped asunder next week. The mere fact that there won't be a Quebec election for several years and, even if Jacques Parizeau's Parti Québécois should win, there would be even more time required for a clear referendum on the issue, is conveniently ignored.

Nobody outside the country seems to have noticed that the crisis has been called off as account of summer. Parizeau and Robert Bourassa have already agreed on a consensus study—the great Canadian way—to travel to every region of Quebec to sound out public sentiment. It's a local version of the Royal Commission—that deadly Ottawa invention—a way of boring people to death.

It's here, clear, ever since Red McAvoy broke with his buddy Eric Rivest and walked out of the Quebec Liberal party, that some

form of sovereignty association or whatever one wants to call it is waiting down the road. For outsiders to have suddenly discovered ancient devastation in a bit hard to take.

The British, in their insular way, think they have a solution. The *London Daily Mail's* front page headline advises: "The Queen steps into Canada's split crisis." Meaning: her July 1 address to the nation and ignoring the fact that she is now so little a factor in Canadian domestic affairs that the best could only dare to shove her across a bridge in Hull for mere aesthetics—to talk to children.

The *Daily Telegraph*, after some Conrad Black tried—not too successfully—to explain the crisis to his readers in a long piece, had the Queen on the front page calling for unity while respecting Canadian protesters' demand almost exactly like the evening talk who stand guard outside Buckingham Palace. (You want a hint as to the problem?)

Things aren't helped by those who could be helped. After the sensational flap about the Montreal Catholic school board proposal to discipline students who spoke English anywhere on the school grounds, the news that the trustees had rejected the idea was buried on page 38 of the fourth section of *The Toronto Star*, right beside the happy domestic "Furious Warden" ads.

Time's European edition devoted three whole pages to a "crisis" that supposedly would end the country tomorrow. Even *the Today*, the McHugh of journalism, has founder Al Neuharth's glowing "On Canada's Crisis: report 'rebellious'."

When *the Today* starts to think, we know we are in trouble. The most depressing thing is that the few American papers that pay occasional attention to Canada—*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*—show their lack of feel in that they too think the place is going to blow up next week. (*The N.Y. Times* is so concerned long-term about Canada that their excellent Canadian correspondent, John Burns, has spent the past year in Afghanistan, the *Post*, until only recent years, covered Ottawa from Chicago.)

The flurry of foreign press interest in this dull country's sudden eruption of emotive (it wasn't so much emotive as irritation at U.S. politicians trying to do things so smart that they are now ashamed of doing in secret) is understandable—more the press exists on crisis. But it reveals, in their excitement, that they don't really know how this country operates and why like a beaver republic, it is not going to split tomorrow.

And not probably ever, but certainly not tomorrow.

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